facing the open space in front of the canopy. And so they quietly awaited the approach of their young Queen. 643

Her Majesty, having seated herself on the dais, the attendants fell in behind and spread the long mat in a fan-shaped manner at the back of the Royal Chair.

For a few minutes there was a stillness over all, but presently was heard a chanting of many voices, and a large party of mat-clad natives appeared at the entrance to the ground. In four sections, and chanting the while, they came slowly towards where the Queen sat in state. Close by stood the herald in statue-like fashion, and so he remained until the whole party had paid their respects and had retired. 643 533

Then came a party with an offering in the form of a large root of kava. This, together with other gifts of food, was placed on the ground not many yards from the canopy.

Meanwhile the body of singers had retired and become seated in the centre of the ground, and preparations were made for the making of kava—the beverage peculiar to Polynesia and without which no native ceremony is complete. 643 574 276

When the whole party had become seated, there was observed sitting at the back of and at some distance from the kava party, a lonely figure—that of Uiliami Tugi, the Prince Consort. According to Tongan custom it would be wrong for such a near relation, no matter how great a chief, to be sitting in the superior circle—which is the name given to the circle of chiefs seated on either side of the Queen—and so the Prince Consort must sit alone and quite apart from the inner and outer circles. The outer circle is where the beverage is prepared. . . .

There was a great deal of formality in the matter of the distribution of the kava and much time was taken up in this direction, but after the ceremony had been fully observed, attention was given to the food offering. The herald, who up till this time had been a silent observer of the proceedings, now became a prominent figure, and with uplifted spear and with streamers flying he warily approached the line of foodstuffs and selecting a certain dainty morsel—a well-cooked young suckling pig—he made good aim and let fly the spear which hit truly the intended mark, the pig's liver. Springing forward he gently lifted on the point of the spear the offering of the day and presented it to the Queen. From thence on the food was distributed amongst the high chiefs. 643

Way was now made for the orators, and they came and delivered themselves of speeches, the keynote of which was their acknowledgment of the right of Tu'i Salote to rule over the Tongan people, and they expressed their loyalty to their ruler. Other addresses appropriate to the occasion were also delivered, and the proceedings terminated with the retirement of the Queen to the Palace. 643 537

The following notes, derived chiefly from Collocott, supplement the above account. 643

Before the appointment the candidate in the presence of the assembled chiefs was instructed by Ata and Veehala in such matters as the stewardship of the country. This was done in accordance with traditional procedure. As required by tradition the clownish herald at the *fakanofo* ceremony belonged to the family of the chief Tui Vakano of Nukunuku, Tongatabu, or to the family of Tahifisi (32). [622]

Ulukalala's seat is not in the kava ring (*alofi*); his place is behind the general assemblage (*toua*). He was not present, so his kava was poured on the ground at the spot where he should have been. See figure 1 for seating arrangement on this occasion.

For the making of the kava many people brought water in buckets, only a little in each bucket. The idea was to show the chiefly power (*faka'ei'eiki*) of the Tui Kanokupolu by the large number of the water carriers and their alacrity. 643 276 574

In dragging the kava to the *fakanofo* kava circle the Hihifo people sang the following work songs (*tauaalo*). [533] [539]

Ko Hihifo kuo laka,	Hihifo has progressed,	643
Kae mahu ai Tonga.	Thereby Tonga has prospered.	276
Koe me'a pe 'e ua kuou,	I have known only two things,	533
Koe vale pe moe tu'a piko.	The fool and the humpback.	539
Ko ilo'i tu'unga koau	I am the known foundation	574
Tua liku 'o Valefanau.	From the back of weather shore of Valefanau.	

The first and third songs praise the people of Hihifo and the prosperity of Tonga under the rule of the Tui Kanokupolu chiefs, whose original seat was Hihifo District of Tongatabu. The second song is said to mean that a fool experiences two things, his own foolishness and a back bent from hard work. 643 276 574 533

The families of the chiefs sat in the general assemblage (*toua*) behind the kava ring. At the end of the ceremony the grandchildren of the lords (*tui*) removed the materials used in making kava and the baskets containing the relish food (*fono*). These baskets were exceptionally large and made of specially chosen large coconut fronds. They are called *kato fakapangai* (Pangai-style baskets, that is, baskets befitting a great ruler). 643 276 574 623

Apparently to symbolize the allegiance of the great lineages and chiefs to the new Tui Kanokupolu was the use of the fiber kava strainers which were named for them. There were fiber strainers for the Haa Maafu, the Haa Ngata Motua (in charge of Matafahe), the Haa Havea, the Haa Ngata Tupu (in charge of Fakailoatonga), the Haa Ata (in charge of Tongatea of Haakame), the Haa Vaea (in charge of Luani of Vavau), and the Haa Maufanga (in charge of Latukefu of the Hihifo district). 643 276 574 613

While the kava was being prepared, Motuapuaka and Lauaki argued as to which was to distribute it. The origin of this traditional feature of the ceremony is said to have been a dispute between an earlier Motuapuaka and a Lauaki. Each advanced his claim to the privilege, till finally it was brought to the test of who (or whose son) slew most men in a battle. Lauaki won the precedence on this score, but later gave up the honor to Motuapuaka, who still holds it. 643 276 574

A feature of the ceremony was a series of stereotyped speeches (*malanga*) urging the people to give attention to food production in order to properly support the new ruler. Before beginning his address each speaker moved forward about two paces into the kava circle. He spoke very slowly. To speak otherwise would constitute an affront entailing the performance of the humbling ceremony (*ku*) before the ruler after the installation. 643 276 574 537

Tovi of Kanokupolu spoke first concerning the collecting of crustaceans and mollusks. Then Faoa of Kanokupolu spoke concerning reef fishing and bonito catching. Lastly Ata spoke concerning cultivation of the land.

Tovi's Speech

Ka ke ka moeia ha mehingo pe pe ke ma'u ha paka pa ha tafolo pe ko ha pesiloa pe hingavele pea oua naa femuni'aki ka omi ke fau ha kato ke au ki Fonuamotu.	If you should catch a *mehingo* (a kind of oyster), crab, *tafolo* (a kind of crab), *pesiloa* (another kind of crab), or *hingavele* (a shell fish), do not keep it for yourself, but bring it in a basket and send it over to Fonuamotu (the home of Tui Haa Takalaua).	643 276 574 537 539

Ata's Speech

Tapu moe Afio 'oe Hau. Koe tala 'o Pangai 'e fai atu. Ke to ae ngatae, moe kaho, to moe au, ke tauhi aki a Pangai ke tokanga ae tangata ke to ngoue'i ae kelekele ke mahu, koeuhi koe tauhi oe Hau.	Sacred to the Majesty of the Ruler. The speech of Pangai will be given. Plant the ngatae, and cane, plant also the sugar cane, for the repair of Pangai and take note that each man must cultivate the ground to produce plenty of food for the upkeep of the Ruler.

To-day songs are composed for various occasions. At one entertainment, 538
I listened to a chorus comprised of about twenty girls who sang under the 533
direction of the bard, and accompanied the singing with graceful movements 535
of the head, arms, and body above the waist. During much of the performance the girls were seated. This corresponds with the statement of Father A. C. (46, p. xvi), who says in substance that

> To those songs they usually join bodily attitudes, hand clapping, or the accompaniment of instruments, etc. Besides the nafa—a wooden drum—and bamboos of many di- 538
> mensions, which are made to sound by striking them on the ground, there is a musical 533
> instrument, the fangufangu, a kind of bamboo flute of six holes, blown with the nose. 534
> The Pan-flute also is known, consisting of 8 or 10 reeds drawn together in parallel rows, but giving rather irregular notes.

To what extent these instruments were used as accompaniment to the
songs and chants of the bards in ancient times I do not know. Cook gives [535]
an illustration in which the singing and dancing is accompanied by the pounding of bamboo cylinders vertically upon the ground. A mat was sometimes struck with sticks at the termination of verses as in the epic entitled "The voyage of Kae" (26, p. 145).

Father A. C. (46) says that "there is no gathering without war or his- 574
toric songs, or without meditative songs or dances." But I think that in mak- 533
ing this statement he does not include the *fono* (assemblage to hear a chief's 535
orders) and the ceremonial kava drinking. In connection with these I have 622
never heard of singing, though kava drinking may be preceded or followed 276
by an entertainment.

Tongans have a considerable vocabulary to designate bards and their 538
compositions. The terms *hiva* and *taunga* are used for songs in general; 192
tauaalo for a song or chant sung while paddling or doing other work; *fakanaanaa* for a lullaby (25, p. 6); and *lave* for a chant. In addition to the chant the Tongans also have the recitative, which they call *fakaniua*, a word which means "in the style of Niuatoputapu Island." Informants said the term was applied to poems in which big things, not small details, are portrayed. (See 26, p. 18.) The term *mau* denotes an epic poem, such as "The voyage of Kae." For the poets themselves the Tongans employ the words *mau* and *punake*.

Thomson (54, p. 378) characterizes Tongan poetry as "uninteresting in 539
that it generally treats of scenery and flowers, seldom of the drama of life, never of the drama of love"—a characterization which of course is purely subjective. The omission of the "drama of love" is particularly well brought out in one poem (16, p. 87), which is alleged to have been composed by a man who had hoped to marry a female Tui Tonga, but who was disappointed in this by the lady marrying a chief named Vuna. The poem, although addressed to the lady, contains not a single word of love, dwelling almost entirely upon the scenery, and upon recent political happenings.

brought uncooked and is provided by the bride's people; the *vai*, also brought uncooked; 585
and the *umu manava*, which is cooked. 565

The second day of the marriage is the day of purification. The woman is bathed 264
with candlenut as detergent and afterwards presides at her kava ring. Then her bundles 783
of mats and native cloth are brought and disposed of as she desires. Then these games 524
and dances are held: (1) *tofoe*, a game; (2) *lanumanga*, a game; (3) *meetuupaki*, a
dance. The third and last day of the rejoicings comprised: (1) *love*, reciting and sing- 535
ing of poetry; (2) dances: *laufola*, *meetuupaki*, and other dances; (3) and various 538
games. 533

DEATH

Burial seems to have been the only method of disposing of the dead in 764
Tonga. It seems possible that some embalmment was practiced in which
interment of the corpse was deferred several years. Collocott has sent me a 127
note gleaned from the journal of an early Methodist missionary, now in the
keeping of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which refers to the period from
1831 to 1837 and speaks of "a party celebrating *putu* (funeral) for a child
who died seven years ago, but whose corpse was not interred until last week,
which was the third and final mourning."

The body of a chief is anointed with scented oil, laid out in state, and 622
fanned with a long-handled fly switch (*fue*) of coconut fiber. It was possibly
in connection with embalming that the undertaker (*haatufunga*) removed the
brains and apparently the intestines of the chiefly dead. Apparently, how-
ever, embalming was very rare in Tonga. The accounts of the burial of
great personages such as the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga given by
Wilson (65) and Mariner (40) give no hint of embalming or preservation
over long periods.

The undertakers of Tonga are of the matapule class and are appointed 767
like other matapule, great chiefs having as attendants during life the men 565
who will perform the funerary functions for them at death. The chief 622
undertaker of modern Tonga is Lauaki, one of the two great matapule of
the Tui Kanokupolu. The Lauaki who functioned at the funeral of King
George II in 1918 was still living in 1921. He is chief of the Haa Tufunga 613
or "Lineage of Undertakers." The first Lauaki (Maliepo) is reputed to
have been the paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and to
have descended from the sky with him. Apparently the funeral duties of 644
Lauaki are a development following his transfer from the Tui Tonga's court
to the courts of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu. Lauaki seems
to have had no mortuary duties for the Tui Tonga, for whom this service
was rendered by the Tui Folaha.

Funeral matters were regarded as of great importance. In the court of 764
the Tui Tonga a considerable number of matapule of the Falefa (p. 66) 644
had special funerary duties to perform upon the death of the Tui Tonga.

likely that a relative would attend to it. Now relatives of the deceased dig 764
the grave, but the *haatufunga* supervises. Every funeral has its accompanying [565]
feasts and kava drinking. All who attend a funeral partake of [767]
the feast. At a chief's funeral the *haatufunga* officiate at the feast, giving [622]
out the food. The head of the largest pig goes to him. Food may be taken [767]
home after distribution or eaten at once. The feast is not in the house
where the deceased passed away, but nearby on the same premises. There [535]
is no dancing at the present day funeral feasts.

It is incumbent upon the family of the deceased to pay the *haatufunga* 767
with native wealth (*koloa*). A chief will have many fine mats and
tapa which are used in payment. Ten, twenty, thirty, or sixty days elapse
before payment is made to the *haatufunga*. The reason for the intervals was
not given, except that the higher rank of the deceased, the longer the payment
is deferred, and the bigger the payment. Anciently non-payment by a
chief never occurred. Nowadays if no payment is made a lawsuit follows. [686]
Commoners, as well as people of rank, must pay, but no prearrangement of
the amount is made with either.

For ten, fifteen, or twenty days there are morning kava ceremonies and 765
small feasts following the big funeral feast. The *haatufunga* is present at 276
these. At the first of these kavas, two or more *haatufunga* have an argument 574
as to which of them is highest in rank—a purely formal traditional proceeding. 554
767

The funeral feast is called *feipulua*, the breakfast served by the family 764
of the deceased on the morning after the burial, *fakapongipongi;* the funeral 765
of a chief, *meafakaeiki*; the funeral of a commoner, *putu*.

The Female Tui Tonga managed the funeral of the Tui Kanokupolu 764
Mumui (66, p. 241), though doubtless the *haatufunga* officiated also. On this [illegible]
occasion two of Mumui's widows were strangled. [illegible]

Tradition says that occasionally a *haatufunga* was imprisoned in the vault 764
with the body of the chief or king he was interring (16, p. 77). At Houma, 767
Tongatabu, when the vault of the chief Vaea was opened in 1903 the skeleton 782
of a chief was found in proper position, lengthwise, and in one corner was
the skeleton of a *haatufunga* who had been shut in the vault.

Each adult individual had a mourning song, called *tangilaulau*, to be sung 765
at the obsequies of a relative or close friend. This song consisted of a 533
definite tune, a simple theme oft repeated, and a lament, also oft repeated,
extolling in a simple way the virtues of the dead and very tragically mourning
over his departure. Such a lament was permanent with each individual,
excepting for the interchange of such words as father and son, as occasion
demanded.

These songs began immediately after a death and continued, more or less
spasmodically, until the completion of all obsequies. They never were used

on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task 765
called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201). 533

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. [565]
Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so
mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as 765
a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was 622
removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to 302
whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have [622]
cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga
or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The [593]
heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign
of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in 765
rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common 554
to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits [784]
in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is [602]
not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A 764
great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. [554]
This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of [462]
the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served
to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga,
Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to
carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought 763
to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for 343
this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and
retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief 764
should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. 343
The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in con- [563]
nection with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or
the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of
dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as- 768

work being practical in its scope. Bottles of coconut oil seen at modern 765
graves are to oil the black pebbles to make them appear even blacker. 531

The *kilikili*, or other decorative materials, were always placed on the grave [462]
by women, among whom were the female relatives of the dead and all [476]
neighboring women who contributed their work as *meaofa* (thing of love),
which would later be reciprocated. The work and the feasting were accompanied and intervalled by mourning and crying. It is customary to hang
wreaths and girdles called *sisi* at graves. Food is not offered to the dead, [261]
but mats and tapa may be.

If the dead were of chiefly rank, the ranking male representative of that 765
chiefly family acted as director of the *lanukilikili*. He set the time for doing 531
it and authorized his official matapule to gather materials and perform other 565
necessary work. His wife, or, in the absence of a wife, the closest female representative, directed that part of the work to be done by women. If the dead was of matapule rank, the chief to whom that matapule owed allegiance directed the work as above, the actual managing, of course, being placed in the hands of an appointed matapule.

The following is an account of a recent interment of a woman of high 764
rank, as witnessed by E. E. V. Collocott: 565

> Mary Siliukitapu, widow of the late Premier Tukuaho, and mother of the Prince Consort Tungi, died on the 29th of July, 1921, and was buried Saturday, the 30th of July in the same grave with her late husband. When the time came for the body to [767]
> be placed in the vault a large piece of tapa was put up as a screen so that
> none but the *haatufunga* could see into the grave and behold the remains of Tukuaho. [533]
> A work song (*tauaalo*) was sung whilst the body was being placed in the grave.
>
> A boy told me afterwards that he had assisted in the burial of a child related to 764
> Valu of Utulau. A vault in which a person had been previously buried was opened for the occasion. The boy said that he and others dug the sand off from the top of the vault, lifted the stone slab, and then retired to a distance, so as not to see into
> the vault. A *haatufunga* man alone was allowed to see the remains already there. [767]
> When the covering slab was lifted he concealed these remains with tapa. He took the body of the dead child and put it in the grave.

Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker witnessed the opening of the vault in the Langi Olovehi at Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The vault was in the form of a truncated pyramid with four sides. Its base was about 8 feet long, top about 5 feet long, and depth 4 feet, the stones which formed the sides were about 1 foot thick. The vault was covered by stone slabs about 2 feet thick and 7 feet square which overlapped its mouth. These stones were of a yellowish coral and had a level surface. The body of Tuita which was to be interred was wrapped in fine mats and tapa; it was lowered feet first into the vault, as the opening was too short to allow it being put straight
down. Passed round the edge of the slab were ropes for moving it and [784]
these were pulled by men standing on the ground below the tomb, as they were not allowed to stand on the terrace, because of the tapu. Only

[1845 - 1865]

him Tui Kanokupolu. The ceremony of the appointment was held at the Pangai 173
green at Kolovai on December 4, 1845. There is a saying, in reference to the
appointment ceremony, "His back has rested on the koka tree." Taufaahau, now 643
Tui Kanokupolu George Tupou I, dwelt at Nukualofa thereafter.

The following boat song (*tauaalo*) of Taufaahau's makes obvious the important part he played in Tongan affairs before he became Tui Kanokupolu.

Haapai 'e tefua ki Fanganono	Haapai assemble at Fanganono	[533]
Kau alu ki Tonga 'o fakatonu	While I go to Tonga to put to rights	[539]
Liu mai ke ta motulotu	Return and cut in two	

TAUFAAHAU'S GUNS [A]

Laufilitonga, who became the last Tui Tonga, lived at the fortress of 173
Velata in Lifuka, Haapai. Taufaahau lived at the same time in Pangai, 669
on the same island. Velata was a double-walled, double-ditched fortress. 726
A protracted struggle ensued between these rivals for power, ending in [712]
victory for Taufaahau. Taufaahau is said to have been the aggressor.
Many people were killed in the struggle, but captives were spared. With [727]
Laufilitonga was the important chief Tui Haa Teiho.

Whilst the war was being fought at Velata, Taufaahau went in a small vessel (*foalolo* or *tafaanga*) to Eua, to the chief Kaufana, to get some guns. He got the guns, left that small vessel in Eua, and proceeded in a vessel called the Tuingatu-ki-tonga. He arrived at Laulea, at the weather shore of Fatumu, Tongatabu. He went up to the place of a chief called Kanongataa to interview him, and when he arrived the place was deserted; the chief was away at Fuaamotu, preparing his warriors to receive Taufaahau. And Taufaahau went there to him with his men and they met and Kanongataa and the chiefs wanted to detain him for the night, while some food was prepared for them, but Taufaahau thanked them and said that he must go, as the mission was dangerous.

After they had left Fuaamotu, Taufaahau said to his men: "If there is a man amongst you, escape." Taufaahau was the first to reach Lotuma. He waited there till his men came. They went from there to Vaini to visit Maafu who was blind. Maafu asked them where they had been. Taufaahau replied that they had been to see Kaufana to seek guns. Maafu said, "Draw near so that I can touch you," and he wished that he could see him. In that year was born at Eua a grandson of Maafu, and he was called Amusia-ae-a (I envy those that see). (He was still alive in 1918.)

And Taufaahau went from Vaini to Nukuhetulu and he tried to get a vessel to bring them to Nukualofa. He entered a house in which a man was sleeping and awoke him. The man asked, "Who are you?" He answered, "It is I, Taufaahau," and the man fainted with terror. Then he shook the man till he revived. And he said to him, "Don't be afraid," and he asked him, "Do you know of a vessel." The man answered, "I know of a vessel that is anchored at Houmaniu (the shore of Nukuhetulu). Taufaahau said, "Cut the rope and come and take us." He told him to go straight to Pahau and they reached there. They went to the place of the king Aleamotua.

The sun had just risen and the king asked where had they been. Taufaahau answered, "We have been to Eua to seek some guns." Just then a small double vessel arrived from Haapai and they went on board and sailed for Haapai and finished the war at Velata with the Tui Tonga.

[A] /Taufaahau later became King George I Tupou--Analyst/

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth 266
Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is re- 643
vealed in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two 175
assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish [276]
for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. [687]
A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving [412]
alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal 000
god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a
Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and sub- 535
sequent writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given [114]
by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information
are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances 585
were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small 535
paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian [177]
dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in
which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a
lakalaka. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the 533
queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent
famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a 538
poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made 533
in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, 123
wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke
extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference
was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor 517
of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished
by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About 535
twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside
the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, [292]
consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored
cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers [301]
were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the [302]
body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

often crossed and the turnings were made with a jump. In the other dance 535
one girl ended by slapping the under side of her legs with each step, making
a very effective finale.

The dances performed seated consisted entirely of movements of trunk,
hands, and head, usually accompanied by song. Behind the row of dancers [533]
was a chorus of eight or ten men with a skin-headed drum. The director [534]
and poet was a man. Spectators showed their approval of the movements [576]
of two girls by tying either a sash or a handkerchief around their left arms
while the dance was in progress.

Each variation of a sitting dance seems to have a name.

Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, listed six dances, any of which [291]
might be used before war: *meetuupaki; lave; ulafakatonga; lakalaka,* modern form of *meetuupake; otuhaka,* woman's sitting dance; *mauluulu,* women in front, men in back standing at certain stages when moving their hands; *liku*[11] dance, in which only chief women took part, either nude or wearing only garlands and a very short *sisi* girdle of hibiscus or grass about the waist, and carrying small paddles.

No doubt the vocabulary in connection with entertainments was rich, but [192]
unfortunately I have only examples that hint at the probable wealth of terms; thus the word *fakapotu* means "pertaining to the two ends in a row of *lakalaka* or *mauluulu* dancers"; *longonafa* is the name of the special drum used in the old war dance called *meetuupaki; aafakihau* is a night festival (*katoanga*) at which recitatives (*lave*) are chanted, it also applies to singing inside the Tui Tonga's house at night for his entertainment.

The Tongan dictionaries give a number of terms for entertainments con- 517
cerning which I obtained no further information; for example, *ahohiva* (a 192
heathen festival), *citu* (a heathen feast) equated by one informant to *kotoni, ola* (a heathen feast), *ufe* (a heathen play), *poula* (a heathen night dance), *pomee* (a night dance), *fakasinifa* (a heathen song of females only), *fakanukuatea* (a heathen song), *fakatau* (a heathen song), *fakatete* (a heathen feast), *hapai* (a present of food at the feast called *tautau*), *hea* (a heathen dance, a dance of chiefs), *lave* (a heathen game), *sipi* (a heathen dancer), *taumafafonua* (the last of several feasts and ceremonies), *tuaeitu* (a Tongan feast).

ETIQUETTE AND HABITS

The following notes cover miscellaneous acts which do not fit under the 576
other headings of this paper, yet which are of interest socially:

> They have a singular custom of putting everything you give them to their heads, by way of thanks. Very often the women would take hold of my hand, kiss it, and lift it to their heads. (18, vol. 1, p. 221; 30).
>
> Their mode of salutation is by touching their noses together; and, unlike the Ota-

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[11] Possibly this is a misspelling of *liki*. See page 67.

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where he left her to have her mats taken off, 643
and her usual dress put on; after which she 585
amused herself in conversation with the women.
In the mean time a feast was prepared for the [262]
evening, of pigs, fowls, yams, &c. and cava: [574]
this was got ready on the *malái*, where, about [565]
dusk, Tooitonga presiding, the company sat
down to receive their portions, which the generality reserved to take home with them; the
lower orders, indeed, who had but a small quantity, consumed theirs on the spot. After this [276]
the cava was shared out and drunk. The mu- [533]
sicians (if so they can be called) next sat down
at the bottom of the ring, opposite to Tooitonga, in the middle of a circle of flambeaus, held
by men who also held baskets of sand to receive
the ashes. The musical instruments consisted 534
of seven or eight bamboos of different lengths
and sizes, (from three to six feet long) so as to
produce, held by the middle, and one end
being struck on the ground, different notes according to the intended tune (all the knots
being cut out of the bamboo, and one end
plugged up with soft wood). The only other
instrument was a piece of split bamboo, on
which a man struck with two sticks, one in
each hand, to regulate the time. The music 643
was an accompaniment to dancing, which was 585
[533]
[535]

643 kept up a considerable time*. The dancing
585 being over, one of the old matabooles addressed
[533] the company, making a moral discourse on the
[535] subject of chastity,—advising the young men to
[565] respect, in all cases, the wives of their neighbours,
[831] and never to take liberties even with
an unmarried woman against her free consent.
The company then rose, and dispersed to their
respective homes. The bride was not present
at this entertainment. Tooitonga being arrived
at his house, sent for the bride, who immediately
[202] obeyed the summons. The moment
they retired together the lights were extinguished,
and a man, appointed at the door for
the purpose, announced it to the people by
three hideous yells, (similar to the war whoop,)
which he followed up immediately by the loud
and repeated sound of the conch.

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[128] * Their dances have already been described by Captain Cook and others, the account is therefore omitted here not to interrupt the narrative: for further particulars see the second volume.

634 wife did not mind it, because she was already
764 *taboo'd* from having touched the dead body of
[784] the late Tooitonga nine months before, and had
[643] consequently got accustomed to the inconveniences
of it; and Mr. Mariner did not hesitate to do this last office to his friend, because he had no superstitious fears of the consequences of not submitting to the *taboo*. The body, being washed, was brought into the house, laid on a large bale of *gnatoo*, and anointed with sandal wood oil. Toobó Nuha's widows (four in number) now came in to mourn over the dead body of their departed chief. They entered beating their breasts and faces, and screaming with all the agony and frantic agitations
[533] of mad women. They sat down close
[539] round the corpse, and in a most dismal strain
began singing

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634 months, as was the case with Finow's wife above mentioned.
During the time a man is *taboo'd* he must not feed him-
764 self with his own hands, but must be fed by somebody else:
he must not even use a toothpick himself, but must guide
784 another person's hand holding the toothpick. If he is hungry
766 and there is no one to feed him, he must go down upon
264 his hands and knees, and pick up his victuals with his
[565] mouth: and if he infringes upon any of these rules, it is
firmly expected that he will swell up and die: and this belief
[643] is so strong that Mr. Mariner thinks no native ever made
[829] an experiment to prove the contrary. They often saw him
feed himself with his hands after having touched dead chiefs,
and not observing his health to decline, they attributed it to
his being a foreigner, and being governed by different Gods.

O iaooé ! seooké ! 634
O iaooé ! goóa máte é. 764
O iaooé ! goóa te ófa é.
O iaooé ! goóa te tángi é. 533
O iaooé ! mówmów é. 539

Alas ! woe is me !
Alas ! he is dead !
Alas ! how I respect him !
Alas ! how I lament his loss !
Alas ! here are his ruins !

These verses were repeated over and over 634
again, without any order, during the whole 764
night; the mourners frequently beating their [533]
breasts and faces, and now and then making
exclamations regarding themselves, as to what
would become of them now they had lost their
great chief and protector, and with him all
their happiness and comfort. The house was (354)
lighted up by lamps with cocoa-nut oil. About
one hundred and fifty persons were present,
among whom were Finow and Mr. Mariner;
both of whom staid the whole night. Finow's
wives retired to rest. Mr. Mariner deeply felt
on his mind the depressing influence of these
sorrowful lamentations. The poor unfortunate
women at intervals only sobbed and mourned
for a time, then broke out loudly as before;
till by degrees, the voice growing weak, sunk
into a hoarse murmur; as if all the powers of
the soul were fast declining under a weight of

634 the people, who clapped their hands, whilst the
585 matabooles exclaimed *malie! malie!* (well done!
634 well done!). The young chiefs and their com-
585 panions from Hamoa, sung the following song,
533 beating time with their hands: it is in the lan-
177 guage of the Navigator's islands, and Mr. Ma-
[191] riner does not understand the meaning of it; he
was so much in the habit of hearing the Tonga people sing in that language, which they affect to admire, though very few understand what they sing, that he neglected to enquire the meaning of this song; but the words, or rather the syllables, (for it is hard to say whether they are divided quite right), he remembers perfectly well, as many of the people went about all the following night singing it, according to the custom at Hamoa: the song is as follows:

Láfe láfe é, láfe láfe é,
Láfe láfe é chiniláu;
Chi a my ta tó.
Oóa láo fia tála ou.
Móegnagnóngo é, Móegnagnongo é;
Toobó mo Laképa e, Toobó mo Laképa é.

Toobo Mo Lakepa was the name of one of the brides, who was a personage of greater rank than the other.

634 While this singing and these acclamations
585
535 were going forward, the prince led his brides
177

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634 bled, and waited the arrival of the prince and
585 his Hamoa friends. In a short time they came
177 with presents of fine mats, dried cava root, &c.
431 (the cava root of the Navigator's islands is
greatly esteemed). These they laid down at
the feet of Finow and his wife, Toobo ve Holla,
who were seated opposite the entrance. Her
majesty returned the compliment by presenting
them with three or four English wine-bottles,
an hour-glass, without either sand or stand, and
some pieces of iron hoop, made sharp in the
form of chisels; which having received, they
retired and seated themselves on one side, op-
634 posite the party of Hapai singers. These latter
585 now began a vocal concert, in the language and
177 after the manner of the Hamoa islands.* When
533 they had finished, those from Hamoa sung, and
so on alternately during four or five hours, after
which the company broke up. The brides were
not present at this concert; and the bride-
groom, not finding himself much interested in
it, soon gave them the slip.

634 669 This ceremony, and these rejoicings, being
634 over, Finow again began to turn his attention
669 towards Vavaoo. In the first place he dis-
702 patched canoes to the different Hapai islands,
[722] with orders to each, that all the male inhabit-
ants (excepting two of the oldest for each
plantation, to keep them clear of weeds, &c.

823 and the toil and trouble which it necessarily
484 occasions. In the estimation of the romantic,
[689 however, this trouble is amply repaid by the
[829 rich and extensive scenery on every side, whilst
[775 the murmuring of the waves, breaking upon
[669] the rocks below, soothes the mind with a pleas-
ing melancholy easier to be conceived than de-
823 scribed. The effect which this works upon the
● 533 minds of the natives will be more easily under-
stood when we see a sample of their descriptive
songs, which in language, like that of Ossian,
[128] are plaintive and pathetic. In the first place,
however, it is necessary to state a few particu-
lars relative to this romantic and diversified
spot, that certain passages of the ensuing song
may be better understood.

197 On the right of the wood of *tamanoo* trees
there is another wood, consisting almost wholly
515 of *toá* trees: here the natives frequently resort to rinse themselves with the fresh water found in the hollows, between the junctions of the large branches or limbs that come off immediately from the trunk, after having bathed themselves in the sea: for the salt water, without using such rinsing afterwards, is apt to produce, in hot climates, a cutaneous eruption: besides which, the fresh water washing prevents that uneasy sensation of heat in the skin, upon a little exertion, attended with a clamminess;

and sometimes, on the contrary, with a pro- 137
fuse perspiration. Here also they plait flowers 515
which they have gathered at Matawto, (about
a mile farther along the beach,) which the 301
women put round their necks or take home to 431
the *mooa*, and present to their lovers or their
friends, or to superior chiefs.

The following song is very often sung by 823
them, or, to speak perhaps more correctly, is 533
given in a sort of recitative by either sex; and in the Tonga language has neither rhymes nor regular measure, although some of their songs have both. It is perhaps a curious circumstance that love and war seldom form the subjects of their poetical compositions, but mostly scenery and moral reflections.

SONG.

Whilst we were talking of *Vavdoo toóa Licoo*, the women 823
said to us, let us repair to the back of the island to contem- 533
plate the setting sun: there let us listen to the warbling of 539
the birds and the cooing of the wood-pigeon. We will gather flowers from the burying-place at *Matáwto*, and partake of refreshments prepared for us at *Licoo O'nē:* we will then bathe in the sea, and rinse ourselves in the *Vdoo Aca;* we will anoint our skins in the sun with sweet scented oil, and will plait in wreaths the flowers gathered at *Matáwto*. And now as we stand motionless on the eminence over *Ana Mánoo*, the whistling of the wind among the branches of the lofty *toa* shall fill us with a pleasing melancholy; or our minds shall be seized with astonishment as we behold the roaring surf below, endeavouring but in vain to tear away the firm rocks.

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823 Oh! how much happier shall we be thus employed, than
533 when engaged in the troublesome and insipid affairs of life.
534 Now as night comes on, we must return to the *Moóa*:—but hark!—hear you not the sound of the mats?—they are practising a *bo-oóla* * to be performed to-night on the *malái* at *Tanéa;* let us also go there. How will that scene of rejoicing call to our minds the many festivals held there, before *Vavâoo* was torn to pieces by war. Alas! how destructive is war!—Behold! how it has rendered the land productive of weeds, and opened untimely graves for departed heroes! Our chiefs can now no longer enjoy the sweet pleasure of wandering alone by moonlight in search of their mistresses: but let us banish sorrow from our hearts: since we are at war, we must think and act like the natives of *Fiji,* who first taught us this destructive art. Let us therefore enjoy the present time, for to-morrow perhaps or the next day we may die. We will dress ourselves with *chi cola*, and put bands of white *táppa* round our waists; we will plait thick wreaths of *jiale* for our heads, and prepare strings of *hooni* for our necks, that their whiteness may shew off the colour of our skins. Mark how the uncultivated spectators are profuse of their applause!—But now the dance is over: let us remain here to-night, and feast and be cheerful, and to-morrow we will depart for the *Mooa*. How troublesome are the young men, begging for our wreaths of flowers, while they say in their flattery, "See how charming these young girls look "coming from *Licoo!*—how beautiful are their skins, dif-"fusing around a fragrance like the flowery precipice of "*Mataloco:*"—Let us also visit *Licoo;* we will depart to-morrow.

134
241 The beautiful plantation, of which the above song is partly descriptive, is famed for the great fertility of its fields: the liberal hand of nature has there planted the bread-fruit and

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* A kind of dance performed by torch-light.

[535]

fashion, but partly according to that, partly 593
agreeably to the custom of Hamoa, and partly 634
according to a fancy of his own. After the 764
body was washed and anointed with oil, it was 766
wrapped up in fourteen or fifteen yards of fine [177]
East India embroidered muslin, which had
formerly belonged to one of the officers of the
Port au Prince. It was next laid in a large
cedar chest, which had been made on board
the same ship, for the use of Mr. Brown, out
of some cedar planks taken in a prize. Over
the body were strewed wreaths of flowers, made
for the purpose by her female attendants.
Orders were now issued by Finow, that nobody [292]
should wear mats, (although it was customary [301]
on such solemn occasions,) but should dress [177]
themselves in new tapas (this is the Hamoa
custom); and instead of *ifi* leaves round their
necks, he ordered that they should wear
wreaths of flowers, (this was an idea of his
own,) as if dressed for some occasion of rejoicing.
The chest was placed on two large bales
of *gnatoo*, in the middle of the house, and the
body laid thus in state for the space of twenty
days; during which time Moónga Toobó, Finow's
principal wife, and all her female attendants,
remained constantly with the body. In [533]
the course of the first night the mourners broke
out in a kind of recitative, like that on occasion

593 634 of the death of Toobó Nuha, (p. 143,) but in a
764 very imperfect way, because Finow had ordered
that no appearance of sorrow or sound of
766 lamentation should be made; but, in spite of
[533] this injunction, they occasionally could not restrain
their grief, beating their breasts with
every mark of deepfelt anguish. It is difficult
to conceive the reason of Finow's whimsical
conduct on this occasion, unless it were (as generally
interpreted) an impious and revengeful
endeavour to insult the gods, by ordering those
ceremonies not to be performed which were
considered objects of religious duty on such
sacred occasions. Every morning and evening
provisions and cava were brought for the entertainment
of those who attended on the body.
[177] On the nineteenth day it was removed from
the cedar chest, and deposited in the model of
a canoe, about three feet and a half long, made
for the express purpose, and nicely polished by
one of Finow's carpenters (this is the Hamoa
[563] custom). By this time the body had become
much inflated, and extremely offensive; but
the office of removing it was performed by
some foreigners, natives of Hamoa, who were
accustomed to such tasks *. During the whole

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[177] [171] * At Hamoa (the Navigator's island) it is the custom to keep the dead above ground for a considerable length of time, as above related: as the body, during this period, is

634 have done with any plausible pretence, such as
764 he had for bringing them to Felletoa.

[668] In their road to the back of the island they
[661] sang loudly the whole way, as a signal to all
who might be in the road or adjacent fields to
634 hide themselves as quickly as possible, for it is
764 sacrilegious for any body to be seen abroad by
688 the procession during this part of the ceremony;
and if any man had unfortunately made
[533] his appearance, he would undoubtedly have
been pursued by one of the party, and soon
dispatched with the club. So strictly is this
attended to, that nobody in Mr. Mariner's
time recollected a breach of a law so well
known. Even if a common man were to be
buried, and Finow himself were to be upon the
road, or in the neighbourhood of the procession,
whilst going to get sand at the back of
the island, he would immediately hide himself;
not that they would knock out the king's brains
on such an occasion, but it would be thought
sacrilegious and unlucky, the gods of Bolotoo
being supposed to be present at the time.
[565] The chiefs are particularly careful not to infringe
upon sacred laws, lest they should set an
634 example of disobedience to the people. The
764 song on this occasion, which is very short, is
533 sung first by the men, and then by the women,
and so on alternately, and intimates (though

Mr. Mariner has forgotten the exact words), 634
that the *fala* (which is the name of this part of 764
the ceremony) is coming, and that every body [533]
must get out of the way.

When they arrived at the back of the island, [285]
where any body may be present to see them, [482]
and, on this occasion, it was at the part called Mofooé, every one proceeded to make a small basket of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, holding about two quarts, and to fill it with sand: this being done, each of the men carried two upon a stick across the shoulder, one at each end—while the women only carried one, pressed, in general, against the left hip, or rather upon it, by the hand of the same side, and supported by the hand of the opposite side, brought backwards across the loins, which they consider the easiest mode for women to carry small burdens[*]; they then proceeded back the same way, and with the same ceremony, to the grave. By this time the grave above the vault was nearly filled with the earth lately dug out, the remaining small space being left to be filled up by the sand, which is always more than enough for this purpose, that the mount,

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[*] This mode, which the women use, is called *fafa*; that which the men use, as just described, *âmo*; carrying in the hand by the side, *taggi-taggi*;—whilst the general term for any mode of carrying is *fooa*.

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and good humour: he was a most graceful 634
dancer: he was passionately delighted with ro- 157
mantic scenery, poetry, and vocal concerts: these
last had been set aside, in a great measure,
during his father's warlike reign; but when the
son came into power, he revived them, and had
bands of professed singers at his house almost
every night. He used to say that the song* [533]
amused men's minds, and made them accord
with each other,—caused them to love their
country, and to hate conspiracies. He was of [613]
a most humane and benevolent disposition, but
far, very far from being weak in this respect,
for he was a lover of justice: the people readily
referred to him for a decision of their private
quarrels, on which occasions he was never
thought to have judged rashly; if he could not
immediately decide, he adjourned the cause till
the next day, and in the mean time took the
trouble to enquire further particulars of those
who knew more of the matter. If he was se-
vere with any body, it was with his own ser-
vants, for he used to say that his father was too
partial to them, by which means they had be-
come assuming, taking upon themselves the cha-
racter of chiefs, and oppressing others of the
lower orders, but now he would make them
know their proper places. If they did any thing

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* Their songs are mostly descriptive of scenery.

is employed in preparing and collecting the 651
yams and other provisions, such as fish, cava 796
root, and *mahoá*, and getting ready mats,
gnatoo, and bundles of *mellecoola:* but the yams
only are to be carried in the procession about
to be described.

The sun has scarcely set when the sound of [202]
the conch begins again to echo through the
island, increasing as the night advances. At 651
the Mooa, and all the plantations, the voices of 796
men and women are heard singing *Nófo booa* 533
tegger gnaobe, óooa gnaobe, Rest thou, doing no
work; thou shalt not work. This increases till
midnight, men generally singing the first part of
the sentence, and the women the last, to produce
a more pleasing effect: it then subsides
for three or four hours, and again increases as
the sun rises. Nobody, however, is seen stirring [202]
out in the public roads till about eight
o'clock, when the people from all quarters
of the island are seen advancing towards the
Mooa, and canoes from all the other islands are
landing their men; so that all the inhabitants
of Tonga seem approaching by sea and land,
singing and sounding the conch. At the Mooa 651
itself the universal bustle of preparation is seen 796
and heard; and the different processions entering [292
from various quarters, of men and women, 411]
all dressed up in new *gnatoos*, ornamented with

sit down. The mataboole, who has the direction of the ceremonies, now advances in front 766 765 of the people, and orders them to divide themselves in parties, according to their districts; which being done, he gives to one party the business of clearing away the bushes, grass, &c. from one side of the grave, and to another to do the same in regard to another part, a third to remove such and such rubbish, &c. so that the whole neighbourhood of the *fytoca* becomes perfectly clear: this being done, all the people return to their respective temporary houses.

Soon after dark, certain persons stationed at [533] the grave begin again to sound the conchs, [534] while others chant partly in an unknown language*, [198] [191] and partly in Hamoa, a sort of song, or rather a piece of recitative. [514] While this is going on, a number of men in the neighbourhood get ready to come to the grave, to perform a part of the ceremony which the reader will not think altogether consonant with the

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* The natives can give no account of what this language is, nor how they originally came to learn the words. [167] It has been handed down from father to son, among that class of people whose business it is to direct burial ceremonies. None of them understand the words. It begins thus: *too fia o chi tóccaléw eio chi toccalów ca me faſángo cio manáve táwto, &c.* There are several Tonga words among it, and in all probability it is old or corrupted Tonga, though no sense can now be made of it.

[May 18, 1777]

175 " which Feenow got ready for our entertainment
648 " began. As a prelude to them, a band
545 " of music, or chorus of eighteen men, seated
535 " themselves before us, in the centre of the
" circle composed by the numerous spectators,
175 " the area of which was to be the scene of the
648 " exhibitions. Four or five of this band had
545 " pieces of large bamboo, from three to five or
533 " six feet long, each managed by one man, who
[534] " held it nearly in a vertical position, the upper
" end open, but the other end closed by one
" of the joints. With this close end the performers
" kept constantly striking the ground,
" though slowly, thus producing different notes
" according to the different lengths of the instruments,
" but all of them of the hollow or
" base sort; to counteract which a person kept
" striking quickly, and with two sticks, a piece
" of the same substance, split and laid along
" the ground, and by that means furnishing a
" tone as acute as those produced by the others
" were grave. The rest of the band, as well as
" those who performed upon the bamboos, sung
" a slow and soft air, which so much tempered
" the harsher notes of the above instruments,
" that no by-stander, however accustomed to
" hear the most perfect and varied modulations
" of sweet sounds, could avoid confessing the
" vast power and pleasing effect of this harmony.

[May 18, 1777]

“ The concert having continued about a 175
“ quarter of an hour, twenty women entered 648
“ the circle. Most of them had upon their 545
“ heads garlands of the crimson flowers of the 535
“ China rose, or others; and many of them had [301]
“ ornamented their persons with leaves of trees,
“ cut with a deal of nicety about the edges.
“ They made a circle round the chorus, turning
“ their faces toward it, and began by singing a
“ soft air, to which responses were made by the
“ chorus in the same tone, and these were re-
“ peated alternately. All this while the wo- [535]
“ men accompanied their song with several
“ very graceful motions of their hands towards
“ their faces, and in other directions, at the
“ same time making constantly a step forward,
“ and then back again with one foot, while the
“ other was fixed. They then turned their
“ faces to the assembly, sung some time, and
“ retreated slowly in a body to that part of the
“ circle which was opposite the hut where the
“ principal spectators sat. After this, one of 175
“ them advanced from each side, meeting and 648
“ passing each other in the front, and continu- 545
“ ing their progress round till they came to the 535
“ rest: on which two advanced from each side,
“ two of whom passed each other and returned
“ as the former; but the other two remained,
“ and to these came one from each side by

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“ sometimes sung slowly in concert with the 175
“ chorus; and while thus employed they also 648
“ made several very fine motions with their 545
“ hands, but different from those made by the 535
“ women; at the same time inclining the body
“ to either side alternately, by raising one leg
“ which was stretched outward, and resting on
“ the other: the arm of the same side being
“ also stretched fully upward. At other times
“ they recited sentences in a musical tone,
“ which were answered by the chorus; and at
“ intervals increased the measure of the dance,
“ by clapping the hands, and quickening the
“ motions of the feet, which, however, were
“ never varied. At the end, the rapidity of
“ the music and of the dancing increased so
“ much, that it was scarcely possible to distinguish
“ the different movements; though one
“ might suppose the actors were now almost
“ tired, as their performance had lasted near
“ half an hour.

“ After a considerable interval, another act, 175
“ as we may call it, began. Twelve men now 648
“ advanced, who placed themselves in double 545
“ rows, fronting each other, but on opposite 535
“ sides of the circle; and on one side a man 533
“ was stationed, who, as if he had been a
“ prompter, repeated several sentences, to
“ which the twelve new performers and the

[May 18, 1777]

175 " chorus replied. They then sung slowly, and
648 " afterwards danced and sung more quickly
545 " for about a quarter of an hour, after the
535 " manner of the dancers whom they had suc-
533 " ceeded.

" After this, we had a dance composed of " the men who attended or had followed Fee-" now. They formed a double circle (i. e. one " within another), of twenty-four each, round " the chorus, and began a gentle soothing song, " with corresponding motions of the hands and " head. This lasted a considerable time, and " then changed to a much quicker measure, " during which they repeated sentences either " in conjunction with the chorus, or in answer " to some spoken by that band. They then " retreated to the back part of the circle as " the women had done, and again advanced on " each side in a triple row, till they formed a " semicircle, which was done very slowly, by " inclining the body on one leg, and advancing " the other a little way as they put it down. " They accompanied this with such a soft air " as they had sung at the beginning, but soon " changed it to repeat sentences in a harsher " tone, at the same time quickening the dance " very much, till they finished with a general " shout and clap of the hands. The same was " repeated several times; but at last they

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" formed a double circle as at the beginning, 175
" danced and repeated very quickly, and finally 648
" closed with several very dexterous transposi- 545
" tions of the two circles. 535

" The entertainments of this memorable [533]
" night concluded with a dance, in which the
" principal people present exhibited. It re-
" sembled the immediately preceding one in
" some respects, having the same number of
" performers, who began nearly in the same
" way: but their ending at each interval was
" different; for they increased their motions
" to a prodigious quickness, shaking their heads
" from shoulder to shoulder, with such force,
" that a spectator unaccustomed to the sight
" would suppose that they ran a risk of dislo-
" cating their necks. This was attended with
" a smart clapping of the hands, and a kind of
" savage holla! or shriek, not unlike what is
" sometimes practised in the comic dances in
" our European theatres. They formed the 175
" triple semicircle as the preceding dancers 648
" had done, and a person who advanced at the 545
" head on one side of the semicircle began, by 535
" repeating something in a truly musical recita- 533
" tive, which was delivered with an air so grace-
" ful, as might put to the blush our most ap-
" plauded performers. He was answered in
" the same manner by the person at the head

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175 " of the opposite party. This being repeated
648 " several times, the whole body on one side
545 " joined in the responses to the whole corre-
535 " sponding body on the opposite side, as the
533 " semicircle advanced to the front; and they
" finished by singing and dancing, as they had
" begun.

" These two last dances were performed with so much spirit, and so great exactness, that they met with universal approbation. The native spectators, who, no doubt, were perfect judges whether the several performances were properly executed, could not withhold their applauses at some particular parts; and even a stranger who never saw the diversion before felt similar satisfaction at the same instant. For though, through the whole, the most strict concert was observed, some of the gestures were so expressive, that it might be said they spoke the language that accompanied them, if we allow that there is any connexion between motion and sound. At the same time it should be observed, that though the music of the chorus and that of the dancers corresponded, constant practice in these favourite amusements of our friends seems to have a great share in effecting the exact time they keep in their performances. For we observed that if any of them happened

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“ accidentally to be interrupted, they never 175
“ found the smallest difficulty in recovering the 648
“ proper place of the dance or song: and their 545
“ perfect discipline was in no instance more remarkable 535
“ than in the sudden transitions they 533
“ so dexterously made from the ruder exertions
“ and harsh sounds, to the softest airs and
“ gentlest movements.

“ About eleven o'clock (in the morning),
“ they began to exhibit various dances, which 175
“ they called *mai*. The music consisted at first 534
“ of seventy men as a chorus, who sat down,
“ and amidst them were placed three instruments,
“ which we called drums, though very
“ unlike them. They are large cylindrical
“ pieces of wood or trunks of trees, from three
“ to four feet long, some twice as thick as an
“ ordinary sized man, and some smaller, hollowed
“ entirely out, but close at both ends,
“ and open only by a chink about three inches
“ broad, running almost the whole length of
“ the drums: by which opening the rest of
“ the wood is certainly hollowed, though the
“ operation must be difficult. This instrument 175
“ is called *naffa;* and, with the chink turned 648
“ towards them, they sit and beat strongly upon 545
“ it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood, 535
“ about a foot long, and as thick as the wrist: 533
“ by which means they produce a rude, though 534

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175 "loud and powerful sound. They vary the
648 strength and rate of their beating at different
545 parts of the dance, and also change their
535 tones, by beating in the middle, or near the
533 end of their drum.

[534] "The first dance* consisted of four ranks of
[293] twenty-four men each, holding in their hands
a little thin, light, wooden instrument, above two feet long, and in shape not unlike a small oblong paddle: with these, which are called *pagge*, they make a great many different motions, such as pointing them toward the ground on one side, at the same time inclining their bodies that way, from which they were shifted to the opposite side, in the same manner; then passing them quickly from one hand to the other, and twirling them about very dexterously; with a variety of other manœuvres, all which were accompanied by corresponding attitudes of the body. Their motions were at first slow, but quickened as the drums beat faster; and they recited sentences in a musical tone the whole time, which were answered by the chorus; but at the end of a short space they all joined, and finished with a shout.

"After ceasing about two or three minutes, they began as before, and continued with

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* This is the dance called *mèe too buggi*.

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" short intervals above a quarter of an hour, 175
" when the rear rank dividing, shifted them- 648
" selves very slowly round each end, and meet- 545
" ing in the front, formed the first rank: the 535
" whole number continuing to recite the sen- 533
" tences as before. The other ranks did the
" same successively, till that which at first was
" the front became the rear; and the evolution
" continued in the same manner till the last
" rank regained its first situation. They then
" began a much quicker dance (though slow at
" first), and sung for about ten minutes, when
" the whole body divided into two parts, re-
" treated a little, and then approached, forming
" a sort of circular figure, which finished the
" dance; the drums being removed, and the
" chorus going off the field at the same time.

" The second dance had only two drums,
" with forty men for a chorus; and the dancers,
" or rather actors, consisted of two ranks, the
" foremost having seventeen, and the other
" fifteen persons. Feenow was at their head,
" or in the middle of the front rank, which is
" the principal place in these cases. They
" danced and recited sentences, with some very
" short intervals, for about half an hour, some-
" times quickly, sometimes more slowly, but
" with such a degree of exactness as if all the
" motions were made by one man, which did

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175 " them great credit. Near the close, the back
648 " rank divided, came round, and took the place
545 " of the front, which again resumed its situation,
535 " as in the first dance; and when they finished,
533 " the drawings and chorus, as before, went off.

" Three drums (which at least took two, and " sometimes three men to carry them), were " now brought in; and seventy men sat down, [292] " as a chorus to the third dance. This consisted of two ranks, of sixteen persons each, " with young Toobou at their head, who was " richly ornamented with a sort of garment [293] " covered with red feathers. These danced, " sung, and twirled the *paggi* as before; but " in general much quicker, and performed so " well, that they had the constant applauses of " the spectators. A motion that met with particular approbation was one in which they " held the face aside as if ashamed, and the " *paggi* before it. The back rank closed before " the front one, and that again resumed its " place, as in the two former dances; but then " they began again, formed a triple row, divided, " retreated to each end of the area, and left
175 " the greatest part of the ground clear. At
648 " this instant two men entered very hastily, and
545 " exercised the clubs which they use in battle.
535 " They did this by first twirling them in
411 " their hands, and making circular strokes be-

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175 " knee a little, and trembling, as it were, with
648 " rage. He continued in this manner only a
545 " few seconds, when he moved to the other
535 " side, and having stood in the same posture
[411] " there, for the same short time, retreated from
" the ground as fast as when he made his ap-
" pearance. The dancers, who had divided
" into two parties, kept repeating something
" slowly; and now advanced, and joined again,
[533] " ending with universal applause. It should
" seem that this dance was considered as one
[634] " of their capital performances, if we might
" judge from some of the principal people being
" engaged in it; for one of their drums was
" beat by Futtafaihe, the brother of Poulaho,
" another by Feenow, and the third, which did
" not belong to the chorus, by Mareewagee
" himself, at the entrance of his hut*.

175 " It is with regret I mention that we could
648 " not understand what was spoken, while we
545 " were able to see what was acted in these
" amusements. This, doubtless, would have
" afforded us much information as to the genius

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[555] * It must here be noticed that it is a difficult matter to
[565] beat these drums properly, consequently it is considered a great accomplishment, and never practised by the lower orders: it must also be observed, that whenever among the dancers there are principal chiefs, as, no doubt, there were on the above occasion, the drums are always beaten by persons of the first consequence.

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" and customs of these people. It was observ- 175
" able, that though the spectators always ap- 648
" proved of the various motions when well 545
" made, a great share of the pleasure they received seemed to arise from the sentimental " part, or what the performers delivered in their " speeches *. However, the mere acting part, " independently of the sentences repeated, was " well worth our notice, both with respect to " the extensive plan in which it was executed, " and to the various motions, as well as the " exact unity with which they were performed. " Neither pencil nor pen can describe the numerous actions and motions, the singularity " of which was not greater than was the ease " and gracefulness with which they were performed.

" In expectation of this evening show, the 175
" circle of natives about our tent being pretty 648
" large, they engaged in wrestling and boxing: 526

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* All the dances where the paddle is used are borrowed [535]
from the natives of the islands of Nuha (Cocos island, and [293]
Traitor's island), situated between Vavaoo and Hamoa (the [177]
Navigator's islands.) The accompanying songs are in the [533]
language of Hamoa, whence the people of Nuha have borrowed them, [191]
and both dances and songs have been thus adopted at Tonga; but as very few of the Tonga people understand the Hamoa language, it is presumed that the applause of the people on the above occasion was not excited by the sentiment, but by the music and general performance.

In the account given by Cook, there is only 535
mention made of two principal dances, viz. *mëé* 565
low folla, and *mëë too buggi;* but there are 533
two others of some note, called *héa* and *oóla:* [114]
the first is one of the most ancient dances of
Tonga, and is practised only by chiefs and superior
matabooles; and is a dance very difficult
to execute, not only on account of the accompanying
gesture, but also of the singing. The [534]
chorus is composed of ten or twelve of the chiefs or principal matabooles, in the middle of whom sits one who beats time upon a loose flat piece of hard wood, about three feet long, and an inch and a half square, fastened only at one end upon another similar piece: this is struck by two small sticks, one in each hand, and produces a rattling sound. The difficulty of keeping the time is owing to the extreme velocity with which they beat, particularly towards the latter end. The dancers, who are all men, in the mean while perform their evolutions round the chorus, exhibiting a vast variety of very graceful movements with the arms and head, accompanied by expressions of countenance suitable to the character of the dance, which is that (abstractedly) of a manly and noble spirit, consistent with the mind and habits of a superior person, and therefore it is deemed essential that every chief and mataboole should learn it.

535 As among the ancient Greeks it was thought
565 inconsistent with the character of a gentleman
533 not to know how to strike the lyre, so among the Tonga people it would be considered a mark of great ignorance to be unaccomplished in the graceful, manly, and expressive movements of this dance.

The night dance called *obla* is a very
535 ancient one in Tonga, though borrowed no doubt
177 originally from the people of the Navigator's
[565 island (Hamoa). This dance was formerly
only adopted in the Tonga islands among the
178] lower orders of people; but of late, some Tonga chiefs on a visit to Hamoa were so pleased with the superior gracefulness of the *obla*, which was danced there, that they afterwards brought it into fashion among the higher classes in Tonga, with many improvements and graceful embellishments borrowed from the former place: since which, the *obla* of Tonga is grown quite out of use, even among the lower orders, though it was once danced in Mr. Mariner's time, by order of the present king, on purpose to contrast it with the *obla* of Hamoa; but it was a very awkward exhibition in comparison with the Hamoa refinements, and
535 probably will never be introduced again. There are no particular figures in this dance different from what have already been described in the

other dances; but the arrangement of the 535
movements is very different: the whole dance
is considerably more quick throughout, and
there are several other motions of the feet and
postures of the body. The night dance which 535
Captain Cook saw (the *mëë low folla*) is per- 177
haps the only one which can be considered of 533
Tonga invention, and is the only one accompa- 191
nied throughout with Tonga songs: the rest
belong to Hamoa and Neuha, and are accompanied chiefly with Hamoa songs; for although the dance called *hea* is considered a very ancient Tonga one, there is not much doubt of its being of Hamoa extraction, and accordingly most of its songs are in that language. The *mëë too buggi* is a Nuha * dance, but the songs accompanying it are Hamoa. The principal 535
public dances are the four following:

Mëë low folla, i. e. a dance with the arms outspread: a night dance: it is also called *bo mëë*.

Mëë too buggi, i. e. a dance standing up with paddles: a day dance.

Hea; sometimes a day dance, but mostly a night dance,

Oola; a night dance.

These public exhibitions of dances naturally 534
lead us to speak of their music and poetry: with

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* The islands of Nuha lie between Hamoa and Vavaoo, and are known to navigators by the names of Traitor's island, and Cocos island.

534 regard to their musical instruments, they have already been mentioned, except the *fango-fango*, which is a sort of flute blown by the nose: it is always filled by the right nostril, the left being closed with the thumb of the left hand. There are generally five holes for the fingers, and one underneath for the thumb; though some have six holes for the fingers, and others only four. The sound of them is soft and grave: they are only used as an accompani-
533 ment to one species of song called *obbe*. At
535 all concerts where there is no dancing, the singers sit during the whole time. The following are the different kinds of song used among them.

Low fólla; this is only used with the dance so called, and is in the Tonga language.

Láve; of a similar character with the above sung without dancing, but accompanied with motions of the hands; also in the Tonga language.

Langi méĕ too buggi; that which is always
[191] used with the dance so called: in the Hamoa language.

Héa; only used with the dance thus named: sometimes Tonga, but mostly Hamoa.

Híva; similar to the above, but sung without dancing: they call European singing *hiva*, because probably the *hiva* is very seldom ac-

companied either with music or clapping of the 533
hands: always in the Tonga language. 535

Oóla; that kind of singing which is accompanied [191]
by the dance so called: to this most of
the annexed specimens belong: generally in the Hamoa language.

Fucca Nuha; or the Nuha fashion of singing: [177]
this is never accompanied with dancing,
and is always sung in the Tonga language.
Most of their songs are descriptive of scenery; 533
but some of these are descriptive of past events, 538
or of places which are out of their reach, such as *Bolotoo* and *Papalangi:* the accounts they give of the latter place are ludicrous enough. The poet describes, among other things, the animals belonging to the country, stating that in the fields there are large pigs with horns, that eat grass, and at the *mooa* there are houses that are pulled along by enormous birds. The women are described to be so covered with dress, that a native of Tonga coming into a house takes a lady for a bundle of *Papalangi gnatoo*, (linen, &c.) and accordingly places it across his shoulder to carry it away, when to his great amazement the bundle jumps down and runs off. One of these songs describes the principal events that happened during Captain Cook's visit, and which, excepting a little exaggeration, is tolerably cor-

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533 rect: another describes the visit of Admiral 538 d'Entrecasteaux: another the revolution of Tonga, and the famous battle that was there fought, &c. The song which is given in the first volume, p. 293, belongs to this class of musical composition. Some of these songs have neither regular measure nor rhyme, but others have both.

Oóbe; this kind of singing is always accom- 533 panied with the *fángo-fángo,* (or nose-flute): the subjects of the song are much the same as those last described, but the style of music is different, being more monotonous and grave. It is now very seldom sung.

Tow álo, is never accompanied with instru- [461] mental music; they are mostly short songs, [562] sung in canoes when paddling, the strokes of the paddle being coincident with the cadence of the tune. They are very frequently sung on leaving Vavaoo, whilst paddling out of the 533 inlet. It may not be unacceptable to give the 539 following as an example: it is a very usual one, and expresses regret at leaving Vavaoo and its beautiful prospects, famous for the manufacture of superior *toogi hea,* (gnatoo stained with the *hea,*) to go to the islands of Toofooa and Kao, noted for making coarse mats.

Oiáooé! goóa mów téoo felów,
Ca toógoo Móoonga-láfa, béa mo Talów!

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Goóa te hóli ger nófo ; coháï ténne áloo ? 533
Cá toógoo Vaváoo, móe mótoo lále, 539
Lícoo o'ne, móe Váoo-áca,
Moĕ Hálla-vy' gi Máccapápa,
Máttalóco, mo fánga myfile,
A'na a Toótaw-i, béa Mofoóe,—
Iky' téoo toó gi he hífoánga,
Jío hífo gi he felów tafánga.
Toógoo he toogi-héa a Háfooloohów
Ger vála he gnáfi-gnáfi a Tofoóa mo Káo.

Alas! we are entering upon our voyage
By leaving Móoonga-láfa and Talów!
Anxious am I to stay; who can wish to go?
Departing from Vavaoo and her neighbouring isles,
And Licoo-óne, and Váoo-áca,
The road of springs near Maccapápa,
Mattaloco and the myrtle plain,
The cave of Tootaw-i, the beach of Mofooé,—
No longer can I stand upon high places*,
And look downwards on the fleet of small canoes,—
We must leave the crimson *gnatoo* of Hafoóloohów
To wear the coarse mats of Toofoóa and Káō!

The above is a translation as literal as the sense will allow of this song: it must not, however, be taken as a specimen of the best: it is given because it is the only one of this kind that Mr. Mariner is acquainted with.

Such are the names of their different kinds 533
of songs, some of which are to be considered 177

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* This alludes to the Hapai islands being for the most part flat; and although Tofoóa and Káo are both high islands, yet they have not such steep descents as are common at Vavaoo. [133]

533 [177] pieces of recitative, particularly those according to the *Nuha* mode: others again have a considerable variety of tone, and approach to the character of European music: such for example are some of those to which we shall directly give expression according to the European system of notation*. 533 538 Those who are skilled in the composition of songs and music often retire for several days to the most romantic and retired spots of Vavaoo, to indulge their poetic genius, and then return to the *mooa* with several new compositions, which they introduce at the first opportunity. The man who is related p. 251 to have cut off his own leg, was very expert in the composition of humorous pieces: but a man of the name Tengé was famous for the higher order of composition: he was one of the lowest *mooas* belonging to Hala A'pi A'pi: but he was much esteemed for his abilities. He was principal instructor of one of the classes (or bands) of singers.

533 535 With regard to the following seven specimens of musical composition, it must be noticed, that the first six belong to the kind of dance called *oola*, and the last to that called *mëë too buggi*. In respect of the *oola* it must be farther noticed, that it has two species of

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[192] * They have no distinction of term between recitative and actual singing, they call it all *hiva* (to sing); this word happens to mean also the number *nine*.

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music, the one called *hiva*, and the other *langi*; 533
the *hiva* approaches in its nature to recitative, [535]
is given without dancing, and serves as an introduction or overture to the *langi*, which is accompanied with dancing, and commences the moment the *hiva* has ceased. The *hiva*, however, is repeated several times *ad libitum*; but when the *langi* is about to commence, and the *hiva* to cease, the latter is generally ended with a sort of flourish difficult to describe, but in a louder tone of voice, and very abruptly, as if significant of a sudden rush or assault. The first specimen of the *hiva* here given admits of being thus ended, the other does not. The *langi* may also be repeated *ad libitum*, and may even be changed from one specimen into another: Thus much for the *oola*. The last specimen belongs [535]
to the dance called *Mēē too buggi*, which has no *hiva* to introduce it, but commences at once with dancing; it may also be repeated *ad libitum*: what is here given is, however, only *part* of a specimen of the *meē too buggi*. The words [191]
of all these songs are in the Hamoa language, and are not understood, except the last, which appears to be a mixture of Hamoa and Tonga: where there are no words, they are forgotten.

The little piece quoted as a Tonga song in 114
the Quarterly Review, No. XXXIII. p. 34, we can make no sense of, it is perhaps Hamoa, or more probably Nuha language.

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THE OOLA.

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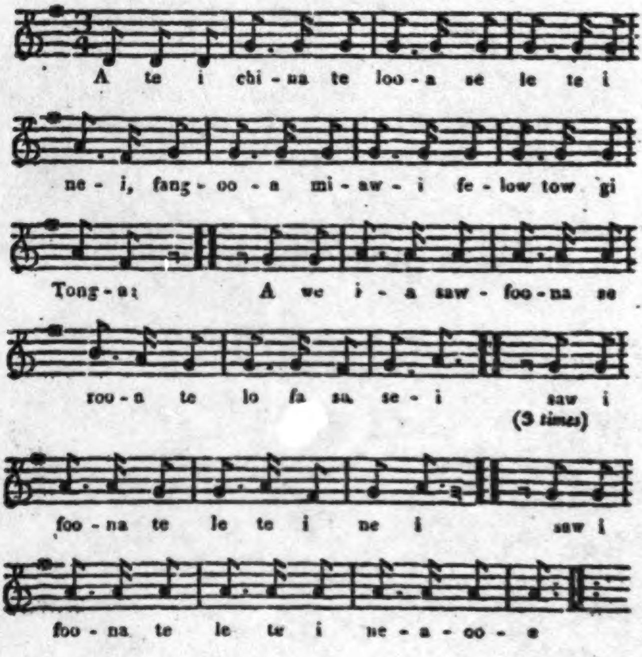
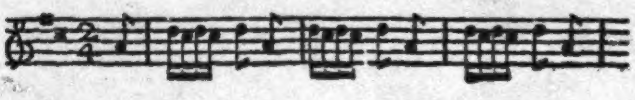
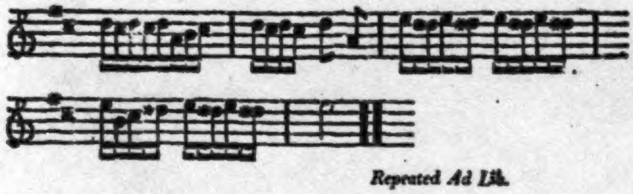
HIVA, OR INTRODUCTORY RECITATIVE TO THE *LANGI*.


A te i chi-na te loo-a se le te i
ne-i, fang-oo-a mi-aw-i fe-low tow gi
Tong-a; A we i-a saw-foo-na se
roo-a te lo fa sa se-i saw i
(3 times)
foo-na te le te i ne i saw i
foo-na te le te i ne-a-oo-e

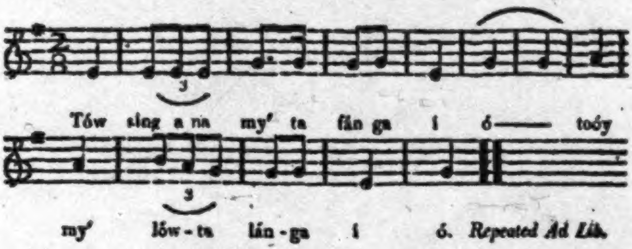
A SPECIMEN OF THE LANGI.

Every time the Langi is repeated, the time is to be quickened, till at length it becomes exceedingly animated.

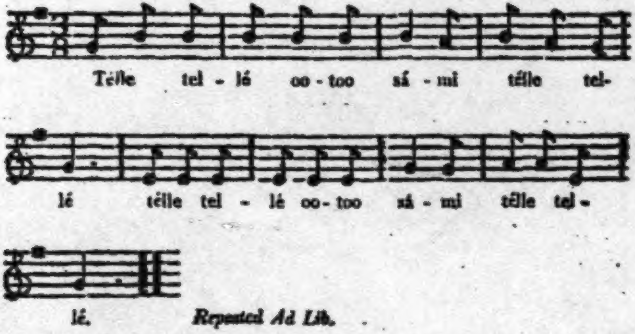



Repeated Ad Lib.

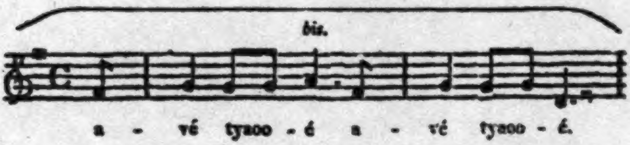
A SECOND SPECIMEN OF THE LANGI.


3
Tów sing a na my' ta fán ga i ó—— toóy
3
my' lów - ta lán - ga i ó. Repeated Ad Lib.

A THIRD SPECIMEN OF THE LANGI.


Télle tel - lé oo - too sá - mi télle tel-
lé télle tel - lé oo - too sá - mi télle tel -
lé. Repeated Ad Lib.

A FOURTH SPECIMEN OF THE LANGI.


bis.
a - vé tyaoo - é a - vé tyaoo - é.

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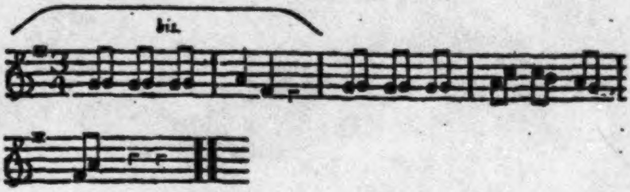
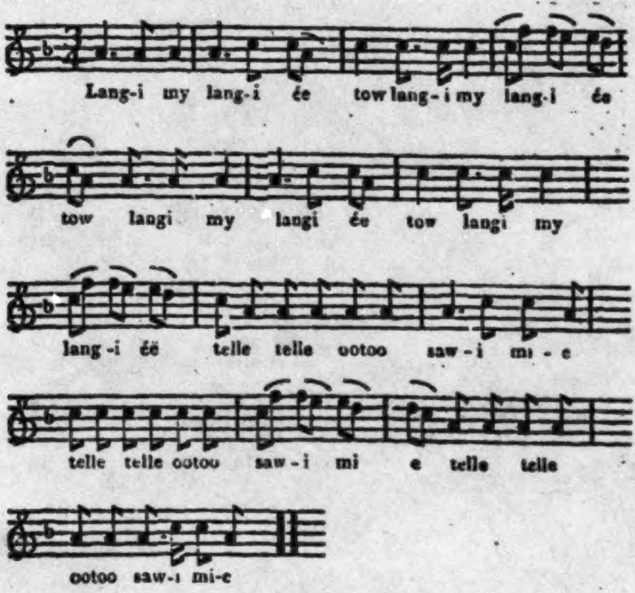
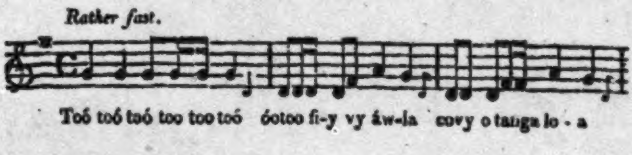


ANOTHER SPECIMEN OF THE HIVA.


Lang-i my lang-i ée tow lang-i my lang-i ée
tow langi my langi ée tow langi my
lang-i éë telle telle ootoo saw-i mi-e
telle telle ootoo saw-i mi e telle telle
ootoo saw-i mi-e

A SPECIMEN OF THE *MÉÈ TOO BUGGI.*


Rather fast.
Toó toó toó too too toó óotoo fi-y vy áw-la covy o tanga lo-a

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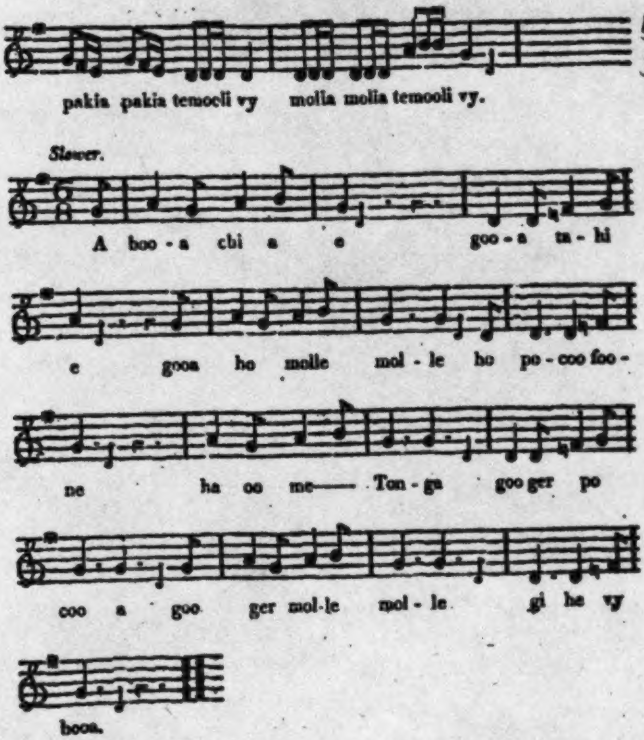
pakia pakia temooli vy molia molia temooli vy.
Slower.
A boo - a chi a e goo - a ta - hi
e gooa ho molle mol - le ho po - coo foo -
ne ha oo me—— Ton - ga goo ger po
coo a goo ger mol-le mol - le gi he vy
booa.

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The games and familiar pastimes in use among them are numerous, and we shall give a short account of each, according to the order in which they are generally esteemed. 524

Líagí: this is the first and most important of all Tonga games: it is one which every chief and mataboole is expected to be well acquainted with; and no others ever attempt to learn it. It is played either by two persons, or [565]

his possessions, and in the most earnest manner 103
entreated him to accept of something. Being 571
thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi 173
chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *gie fow**, [292]
and this was the only article that the eloquence
and kindness of Finow could persuade him to
accept of. The king left him with sentiments
of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the
orders that had been formerly given to prevent
any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four
years afterwards; but one day he was found
lying on the ground, stretched out dead within
his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day 512
it is usual to have another meal, when the [264]
chiefs receive a number of presents, of different [431]
kinds of provisions, from their dependents or [574]
friends, which the mataboolеs share out. In [521]
the afternoon some again join in conversation, [224]
others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening
they have dancing and singing, which is 512
often continued till very late at night, on which 535
occasion they burn torches, each being held by [533]
a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. [372]
These dances are generally kept up for about
four hours after dark. When no dances are 512
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* A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 250.

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ger tamatea, mo toi-toi ger féia cune covi.	bethought himself to kill him, and concealed (himself) to effect his evil (purpose).
Feccatagi leva he eva cune tehina, téia leva ger mate.	Met (he) accordingly the walking, his brother, (and) struck-he (him) accordingly to death.
Lolotonga *he* how now tammy′ mo Bolotoo moe foo ita obito,	At that time coming their father from Bolotoo with great anger exceeding,
Fehooi leva ia, Coehá ne ger tamate ho tehina? iky tegger gnácoe coy ángecó ia? wi! moe covi! fiamoaloo!	Asked then he, Why have you killed your brother? not could you work (3) like him? fye! and wicked! begone!
Talángi gi he cow-mea a Vaca Aców ooli: talangi ger now how giheni.	Tell to the family of Vaca Acowooli: tell (them) that they come hither.
Now how leva, bea feców giate ginówtóloo leva Tangaloa:	They came accordingly, when commanded to them thus Tangaloa:
Mo wo toho vaca gi tahi; mo felów gi tocalów gi he fonnooa lahi gi-ai, mo nonofo ai:	You go (and) launch canoes to sea; and sail to the east, to (the) land great there, and dwell there.
Be mo gili tea ange-be-co mo loto, coe loto lillé:	And your skin (be it) white just like your mind, it is a mind good.
Te mo boto, guahi tugi, moe coloa fooli-be, be mo vaca lahi.	Shall you (be) wise, making axes, and riches all-whatsoever, and also canoes large.
Cowca aloo au talangi gi he matangi ger how me mo fonnooa gi Tonga.	In the mean time, go I (to) tell to the wind that (it) come from your land to Tonga.
Iky′ chi te now felów giate gimótóloo moe now vaca covi.	(But) not little, (i. e. not all) shall they sail to you with their canoes bad.
Lea-angi leva Tangaloa gi he towgete, tegger ooli-ooli coy, co mo loto covi; be ger sese.	Spoke thus Tangaloa to the elder brother, shall you (be) black, as your mind (is) bad; and you (shall be) destitute.
Iky′ obito tegger mea lillé, iky′ tegger aloo gi he fonnooa ho tehina; fefe tegger aloo ai, moe mo vaca covi?	Not much shall you (have) things good; not shall you go to the land (of) your brother; how can you go there with your canoes bad?
Co ho tehina be tenne how gi Tonga fúccatów mo gimótóloo.	Your brother only shall come to Tonga to trade with you.

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The following is the song of which the translation was given in the first volume, p. 293. It belongs to the Nuha mode of composition. (See chap. 23. of this vol.)

Mow nofo-nofo talanóa gia Vavaoo	We remained talking about Va-

[p. 378]

Tooa Licoo bea behe my he toonga fafine.	vaoo Tooa Licoo, when said to us the women, 538
Tow aloo fonongo gi Licoo ger mamata he hifo he lâä: tow fonongo gi he maboo he manoo mo he tangi he loobe.	Let us go (a) walk to Licoo, that (we may) behold the going down (of) the sun: we (will) listen to the singing (of) the birds, and the lamentations (of) the wood-pigeon. 539
Tow toli *he* cacala gi he hifōánga gi Matawto.	We (will) gather flowers near the precipice at Matawto.
Tow nofo-nofo bea tow toofa he tatali omy' me Licoo One.	We (will) remain, and we (will) share out the provisions brought us from Licoo One.
Tow cowcow gi tahi, bea tow lanoo gi he Vaoo Aca mo tow taky' *he* fango nanamoo: tow tooi cacala, mo tow fi he chi *he* tow toli me Matawto.	We (will) bathe in the sea, and we (will) rinse in the Vaoo Aca, and we (will) anoint (with) oil sweet-scented: we (will) string flowers, and we (will) plait the *chi* (which) we (have) plucked from Matawto.
Ca tooange gitówtóloo gi he hifoanga gi Ana Manoo, tow jio hifo mo tai-manava [*] gi he mamaoo he tahi gi-lalo.	Whilst (are) standing we upon the precipice at Ana Manoo, we (will) look down without breath, in the distance (upon) the sea below.
Gooa tow loto manatoo, he foo matangi *gooa* mabooange my me he foo toa gi toogoo oota gi tafanga-fanga.	As our minds (are) reflecting, the great wind whistles towards us from the great (lofty) Toa-trees in the inland upon the plains.
Gooa te loto lahi [†] he mamata he gnaloo gi-lalo, footeange noa-ai-he ger lyigi he macca fefeca.	Is (to) me (the) mind large, beholding the surf below, endeavouring in vain to tear away the rocks firm.
Ha mea coia covi he tow nofone (9) gi he nofo giate ginowtoloo gi Mooa.	The thing that bad (by periph. *good*, viz.) the our state (i. e. thus employed) to (i. e. compared with) the state among those at the Mooa [‡].
Gooa ifi-afi, tow aloo gi Mooa: fonongo! gooa ongo my he langi: gooa now aco he bo-oola ger fy abó gi he Malái gi Tanea?	(It) is evening, (let) us go to (the) Mooa: hark! there sounds to-me the band of singers: are they practising a *bo-oola* to perform to-night at the Malai at Tanea?
Tow aloo gi-ai.	Let us go there.
Iky' te tow manatoo gi he tow oo-	Not shall we think (by periph. we

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[*] Tai-manava; breathless, meaning with wonder and astonishment.

[†] Loto lahi, means here, a mind elevated with the sublime.

[‡] To render this into more intelligible English, we may express it thus: "Our state when thus employed will be indeed happy in comparison with the state of those engaged in the common affairs of life."

[p. 379]

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loongi nofo, lolotonga goon tegichí lyigi he tow, he tow fonnooa.	shall deeply think) to our former state (of affairs), whilst not yet (had) torn the war our land.
Olaooé! coe mea fucca-manavabé co be tow: vackyange goos váooa he fonnooa bea goos mate covi he toouga tangata.	Alas! (it) is a thing terrible, the war; behold is bushy (over-grown with weeds and bushes) the land, and are dead sadly many men.
Gooa nofo noa ai-be ho-egi: iky' te now fa tango toca-taha-be he mahina gi *he* now feaooagi.	Are remaining unsettled there our chiefs: not shall they much wander singly (by) the moonlight to their mistresses.
O'ooa-na tow manatoo-natoo: co-he-lotu gooa tow he tow fonnooa.	Desist us reflecting: how can it be helped is (at) war our land!
Co he fonnooa co Fiji nai omy' be tow gi *he* tow fonnooa co Tonga, bea gooa tow tooboo leva ange-co ginówtóloo.	The land (of) Fiji has brought the war to our land (of) Tonga, and (as) it is, let us act [accordingly like them: (i. e. like the Fiji people).
O'ooa na tow manatoo-natoo, tow mate abé abongi-bongi.	Desist us (being) melancholy (i. e. let us be merry), we (shall be) dead perhaps to-morrow.
Tow vala he chi-coola bea tow nawagi he tapa he gnatoo, tow y he fow he tow tooi jiale, bea tow cahooa he hooni ger fucca-háänge tow gnano-gnano.	Let us dress (with) the chicoola, and let us bind our waists with tapa (of) the gnatoo: we (will) put on the head-dress (made of) our strung jiale-flowers; and (put on) our necklaces (of) the hooni-flower to shew off our sun-coloured skins *.
Fonongo-ange he mavava he toonga ky fonnooa.	Listen to the applauses (of) the multitude: (i. e. mark how they praise us).
Gooa hili he oola; be gooa toofa he genanga he tow catooanga; tow aloo abongi-bongi gi mooa.	Now is ended the *oola*; and (they) are distributing the materials (of) our feast: let us go to-morrow to the mooa.
Iky *he* holi-my he toonga tangata cawleange tow twinga cacala, bea bebeange he now laboo my.	Not (are) eager towards us (meaning, are very eager) the (young) men begging our wreaths (of) flowers, and thus their flattery towards us.
" Ho-mea-cola tai óëóëfooa he tow toonga fafine me Licoo, iky' he lillé	They (are) not beautiful, our (young) women (coming) from Li-

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* On being exposed a little while to the sun, their skins, particularly of women and children, and others not much subjected to the heat, become suffused with a reddish tint, which, together with the soft natural brown, is greatly admired.

[p,380]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

he now gili gnagnano: gooa taitów he now nanamoo mo he hifoanga gi Mataloco mo Vyboos, goos te holi ger aloo gi Licoo, tow aloo gitówtóloo abongi-bongi."	coo*, not good their skins sun-coloured; is to be compared their fragrance, with the precipice at Mataloco, and Vy-boos: I am anxious to go to Licoo: let us go (we) ourselves to-morrow. 533 539

The following is the speech which Finow the Second made to the chiefs 537
and warriors of Vavaoo on his coming into power; it may be considered
the best piece of Tonga composition: the English of it has been already 634
given. See Vol. I. p. 397. 539

Mo fonongo my gimótóloo, Ho-Egi, mo Tangata tow!	Ye, listen to me, chiefs and warriors!
Capów gooa ai taha giate gimótóloo gooa tai-lata *he* tow nofone (9) co lolotonga eni (16) ger aloo gi Hapai;	If be there one among you is discontented (with) our state (of affairs) now is the time to go to Hapai;
Ca iky' obito teoo toogoo *he* taha ger nofo gi Hafooloo How mo enne loto tai-lata mo féálooági.	For not at all will I permit one to remain at Hafooloo How with his mind discontented and wandering.
Na mamafa ecoo loto *he* mamata he foo mow-mow nai tooboo he tow taitoogoo he tacoto gi Malai (15).	Has been heavy my mind, beholding the great destruction has caused the war unceasing (of) the prostrate chief in the Malai.
Gooa fy-fy bea-ha? gooa tai-caky' gooa vaooa he fonnooa, be gooa iky' taha ger enne gnóooë; cani tow nofo lillé, nai caky' y-be.	We have been doing much, and what is the consequence? (17) is unpeopled and overrun with weeds the land, and (there) is not one to its culture; if we (had) remained peaceful, it (would) have been populous still.
Taha he foo Egi mo tangata-tow gooa taw! mo tow nofo fuccataha mo he toca; co loto ahái?	One the great chief and warrior is fallen! (i. e. many, 18) and we remain associated with the *toas*; how can it be helped? (19).
Gooa tow loto-vale! low-gita gooa ge chi he tow möoóine (9)	Are we mad! I think is yet little (i. e. already too short) our lives.
Ilonga be tangata bea nofo ia ger fucca-maneco, mo fucca-lata, enne nofone (9).	It is a manly characteristic (20) when remains he (i. e. a man) to be fond (of) and contented (with) his station (place).
He mea cóia tai low-noa ger fuccanónó be mea gooa tegichi lolos-ange!	It is a thing truly not foolish (i. e. very foolish, 21) to shorten the things (which are not yet long (enough).
Cohái giate gitówtóloo tenne be-he	Who among you shall say (in) his

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* (By periphrasis) our young women from Licoo are exceedingly beautiful, the complexion of their skins is very good, &c.

103 **Niuangohe.** Niua treats kindly [ngohe, to treat kindly]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Niuapai. Coconut rafters [niu, coconut; apai, certain rafters in a Tongan house]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

103 533 539 **Niuatoputapu.** Sacred Niua [toputapu, sacred]. Island (NT). Niuatoputapu is called such by its inhabitants as well as by other Tongans. An old boat song (tauaalo) of Niuatoputapu refers to the sanctity of the island:

> Koau e Niua teke vaka;
> I am by Niua which resists vessels;
> Tala ki Tonga ke tapu e vaha
> Tell Tonga the sea is forbidden (to her).

103 **Niuatovo.** The coconuts belonging to Tovo [niu, coconuts; a, belonging to; tovo, a personal name]. Tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).

Niuaunofo. Sojourning coconuts [niu, coconut; aunofo, to sojourn]. The northwestern point of Tongatabu island (T), also called Van Diemen point. On this promontory there are some coconut trees called Niuaunofo. It is reported that a man from Vavau planted them, but after a time returned to Vavau, bidding farewell to the coconut trees in the words: "Nofoa aunofo. (You remain sojourners.)" At this place two men caught a big fish and took it well inland; then left it on the ground whilst they went to look for something. They returned in time to see the fish making its way to the sea, and it flopped over the bank into the water and escaped.

Niue. Coconuts there. Tracts near villages on Foa island (H): near Fangaleounga—Niukapu, landlord, Lotofoa, Faleloa, and Faleloa—Tuita, landlord. Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H). Also tract on Lape island (V). Also tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Sapaata, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Niufakau. Screening coconuts [niu, coconut; fakau, to screen]. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Niufakaua. Waving coconut trees [niu, coconut tree; fakaua, to roll as a vessel at sea]. Tract near Tokomololo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Niuhakau. Reef coconut [niu, coconut; hakau, reef]. Tract on Ofu island (V).—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Niukafa. Name of a kind of coconut. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Kolovai—Ata, landlord, Tokomololo—Maafu, landlord, and Talafoou—Lauaki, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Niukasa. Newcastle. Tract in Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).

Niukelekele. Name of a kind of coconut. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Niukelekelelalo. Lower Niukelekele. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Niukini. To cut coconut trees [niu, coconut; kini, to strike]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Matahau, Houma—Vaea, landlord, and Folaha. Also tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF). Also tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Niukula. Name of a kind of coconut. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Niulafo. The thrown coconuts [niu, coconut; lafo, thrown]. Tract near Teekiu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Motuapuaka, landlord.

Niulahi. Name of a kind of coconut. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Teekiu—Motuapuaka, landlord, Nukunuku—Tui Vakano, landlord,

539 kiai, koe lahi o Tui Tofua. Pea nae fakataha ae kakai o Haapai o tofa ae hala sika ke fai ai enau faiva.

Pea fai enau sika i he aho e taha pea ai fakamuimui mai ae sika a Tui Tofua, pea nae hau ae sika o tuu i he ato oe fale o ene tamai (Vakafuhu); pea nae lele kiai ae kau sinifu a ene tamai o tautaufa ao ae sika. Pea nae loto kovi a ene tamai kia Tui Tofua o ne mahalo kuo ne fai ha mea kovi mo ene kau sinifu, pea nae oho atu kiai moe akau ke tamate hono foha. Pea nae fakaha mai e hono foha oku ne ataata, pea ikai tuku ae ita a Vakafuhu kiate ia. Pea koia nae fakaha mai e hono foha te ne folau mo ene kakai. Pea naa nau folau.

Pea hokoki he loto moana, pea fakaha age e Tui Tofua kihe ene kakai ke nau hopohopo taha ki tahi, pea nau fai, pea nau hoko kotoape koe fanga anga; pea toki hopo a Tui Tofua fakamuimui pea hoko ia koe fuu tenifa. Ka koe tangata Haamoa ko Faia nae ikai fie hopo ia, pea foki ia ki uta i he vaka o fakaha ae ngaahi mea kuo hoko. [776 Pea talu mei ai moe otua aki e he kakai oe otu motu koia a Tui Tofua, 784] pea nau tapu kai anga, he ko honau kainga kuo tupu fakaanga. Oku pehe ae taanga motua kiai:

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Nofonofo Tui Tofua koe mama,
Momoi ki Olotele o malanga.
Liu mei ai o tofa e hala
O kotofa e sika katoanga
O pa i Lekeleka o malata.

Pea pa pa enau sika;
Fakamuimui Tui Tofua.
To leva e sika ki lotoa,
Feohofi e sinifu fonua;

Ita mai Langitaetaea:
"Ke li ki tuaa e sika."

"Mo hoota pe mate i he ma
Naa hau anai e tangata."
Toka Vakafuhu he oku kona,
Tuu hake moe tui koe ta,
Koe loto kovi ki hono foha;
"Tui koe kihe tala uhuaki,
Kau alu naa ta feiloaki."

to Tofua, and assembled all the people of Tofua and the surrounding islands, because Tui Tofua was great. The people of Haapai assembled and made a road to play their game *sika* (a game played with sticks).

One day they were playing *sika* and Tui Tofua's turn came last, and his *sika* stick flew and stood on the roof of his father's house; and the wives of his father ran to it and scrambled for it. This made Tui Tofua's father angry, and suspicious that his wives had been doing wrong. So he rushed with a club to kill his son. His son told him that he was quite innocent, but Vakafuhu was not appeased. His son then told him that he and his people would sail away. And Tui Tofua and his people did sail away.

When they reached mid-ocean, Tui Tofua told his followers to jump one by one into the sea, which they did, and they all turned into sharks. Tui Tofua jumped last and turned into a great man-eating shark. But the Samoan called Faia did not want to jump, and so he returned on the vessel to shore and told all that had happened. Since then in these islands Tui Tofua has been worshipped as a god, and the shark is sacred and not to be eaten, because their people were transformed into sharks. The following is an old song (*taanga*) about it:

Dwelt Tui Tofua on earth,
Sent to Olotele [as] an ambassador.
Returned from there and made a road
And arranged a *sika* entertainment
And shot at Lekeleka and ricocheted.

And shot and shot their *sika* sticks;
Came last the turn of Tui Tofua.
Fell the *sika* stick into the enclosure
Scrambled his (father's) concubines
for it;
Angry was his mother Langitaetaea:
"Throw the *sika* stick over the fence."

"I will die of shame
Lest come a man presently."
Vakafuhu asleep because drunk,
Rose up with club to strike,
Suspicious-minded toward his son;
"Believe you the early morning teller,
Then I will go lest we have a quarrel."

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Pea uliuli honau vaka	And they steered their vessel
Pea lea leva Tui Tofua,	And Tui Tofua spoke thus,
"Tau a he ka tau hopohopo taha	"Stop here and we jump one after the other
Ka monuia e pea anga,	And if lucky turn into a shark,
Ka malaia e pea maka."	If unlucky turn into a stone."
Koe Haamoa pe toko taha	The Samoan alone
Nae tangi hono tae fie anga.	Cried, not wishing to be a shark.
Ko Faia nae tangi loimata,	Faia cried tear drops,
Koe tangi hono tae fie anga,	Cried not wishing to be a shark,
Naa noosia e ha tafaanga,	Lest (he be) noosed by a fishing canoe,
O ave ki uta ki he kainanga,	And taken on shore to the people,
O fai ai ha tufa mo hakahaka.	And then apportioned and rejoiced over.
"Tala ki he finemui o uta na,	"Tell the maidens on shore,
Ke fi e sisi tui e kakala	To plait the flower girdle and thread the scent flowers
Pea fakataha ki Siuatama;	And assemble at Siuatama;
A noiha homau alu atu anga."	The day after to-morrow they should come."

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TUI TOFUA AND VEHIVEHI[illegible]

Tui Tofua was supposed to have come to Nomuka island and to have taken from there a man named Vehivehi. They went and lived together at Tofua island and it is said that they lived in a cave. There they committed murders. But whilst they were doing these deeds, they were at the same time watching each other. One committed the murder in one direction, while the other was at Hakula at the other side of the island.

They lived thus until Vehivehi killed Tui Tofua. Then Vehivehi lived on by himself and still carried on his deeds against the people. One day Vehivehi caught two women who were getting water. On the way to his cave Vehivehi ordered them to produce fire by rubbing two sticks together. One woman sat in front and the other sat at the back. The woman who sat behind tripped Vehivehi, and then the woman who sat in front stood up and killed Vehivehi with his own axe (*toki*).

WHY MOUNGAONE PEOPLE NEED NOT FEAR SHARKS[illegible]

Fakapatu, a god of Moungaone, lived in a cave that is still to be seen in Moungaone today—a cave open to the sea, from which the entering waves with a roaring noise continually force out a cloud of fine spray. The god Tui Tofua of Tofua island did not like the continual noise that Fakapatu persisted in making, and so he determined to visit Fakapatu and try to put a stop to it.

Tui Tofua arrived at Fakapatu's cave when the latter was away. He proceeded to make himself at home. When Fakapatu returned he found

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[illegible] Told by Daniel Kailalaku, of Nomuka island, Haapai.
[illegible] Told by Salesi Fifita, Mayor of Moungaone, Haapai.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

As Longopoa went his way, he forgot the instructions of the *puko* tree 539 to first plant the branch before greeting his family. Instead he went first to greet his relatives. As day dawned Longopoa remembered the branch and hastened to plant it, but it was then too late. This is the reason why the [824] *puko* tree today does not produce food, as did the *puko* tree of old. It is because Longopoa failed to obey the instructions of the ancient *puko* tree.

KOE FOLAU A KAE	THE VOYAGE OF KAE[106]
Vaka ne fau i Haamea,	Vessel was built in Haamea,
Fai la uta pea fakaheka;	Hoisted sail inland and loaded;
He vaka ne hai uta ki he lepa.	The vessel that took cargo in a pool.
"He fonua koeni e fakahela,	"This land is tiresome.
Taki taha ngaohi haane mea	Let each person prepare his own things
Ka tau folau ki he puko lea;	For us to voyage to the talking *puko* tree;
Tuku Tongatapu ka tau lelea."	Leave Tongatabu and run before the wind."
Tupa!	Clap![107]
Haapai e ka fotuaki,	Haapai was sighted,
Vavau e ka fotuaki,	Vavau was sighted,
Fai mai e tala a toutai.	Reported the navigators.
Kalo mai pe Loau, "Ikai,	Shook the head Loau, "No,
Koe loi e tuunga toutai.	The lies of the navigators.
Tau ave e kainga ni,	Let us take these friends,
Ke tuku ki tafatafaakilangi."	And leave (them) at the horizon."
Tupa!	Clap!
Pea uli hifo honau vaka;	And steered down their vessel;
Pea hokosia e tahi tea,	And arrived at the white sea,
Pea moe tahi fuofuanga,	And the floating pumice sea,
Moe tahi pupulu nae tala.	And the slimy sea that was foretold,
"Tutuu ki tahi mo eua!	"Stand to sea and ward off!
Koeha hoomou tangi na?	Why are you crying?
Ka ikai kó honau kaka	Is it not the treachery of the navigators
Pea tau mole fua ai a!"	Whereby we will all be lost!"
Tupa!	Clap!
Fokihanga folau e fuu fa;	Turning place of voyagers is the great pandanus tree;
Pea fihi ai honau fana.	There became entangled their mast.
Longopoa mo Kae e kaka;	Longopoa and Kae climbed;
Ne na feohofi ki hono vaa,	They swarmed into its branches,
Pea na tekena ai o ata.	And they pushed the vessel free.
Mole ai i he langi nae ava,	It was lost through the sky opening,
Koe potu fonua oe vava;	Into the land of space;
Koe moleanga ia oe vaka.	That was the cause of the loss of the vessel.
Tupa!	Clap!
Longopoa mo Kae, ongo otua,	Longopoa and Kae, two gods,
Ha ongo siana koia e ula,	Those two men were clever,
Kuo malie ena fakauta.	Well done was their meditation.

---

[106] Reprinted from the original Tongan recitative as it appears in the Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton's Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 3, pp. 58-61, 1876. Translation by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker. [113]

[107] Each verse terminates with the word "tupa," which means "clap" and is the signal for the accompanists to beat with sticks on a mat. [533]

POETRY

INTRODUCTION

Tongan poetry, when not sung, is delivered as a sort of recitative, the 538 last syllable of each line or verse being strongly accented. Since comparatively little attention is paid to the length of the line the method of reciting is to slur normal accents, until the last is reached. In singing, accents are [533] slurred, syllables lengthened or shortened, to fit the tune.

Rhyme is of great importance. One rhyme is carried through verse after verse of a long stanza, and it is on these rhyming syllables that the strong accent rests. The end of a stanza is often marked by a recurrent word or refrain. Of such words *tupa* (perhaps the name of a shell-fish) is of frequent occurrence. A new stanza usually rhymes on a fresh sound. Many rhymes are on the last vowel only, but just as many are on the last two vowels. If the last two vowels are rhyming the interposition of a consonant does not destroy the rhyme. For instance *ai* is felt as a rhyme to *ali*, although in ordinary conversation *ai* is almost a diphthong.

In some poetry there is a rather elaborate parallelism as illustrated in the poem of Ulamoleka (p. 84). There seem to be here at any rate the germs of the highly developed parallelism characteristic of the great Hebrew poetry. In not a few poems length of lines is more carefully attended to. The closing *tangi* in the story of Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau shows a skillful and well balanced use of lines of different length (p. 41).

E Tongamaulu'au	Ah Tongamauluau [539]
Ke ke ha'u,	Do thou come,
Kuo hela 'a Kulakehahau,	Aweary is Kulakehahau,
Pea ne fekau	And he orders
Keu tangi atu,	That I plead
Ke ke 'ofa mai na'aku manatu.	That thou love us lest I pine rememb'ring.

The Tongans are appreciative, but critical, audiences. If there is an 517 occasion on which several speakers address a gathering there is no doubt in their apprisement of merits. This or the other delivered the speech that was *malie* (graceful, forceful and appropriate). During a dance every [555] once in a while a man or a woman will leave the group of spectators and approach a dancer whom he judges to be performing especially well, and tie a ribbon or handkerchief about his or her arm or neck. Criticism does not stop at individuals; this or the other band of dancers bears the palm in the judgment of the spectators.

This critical faculty, so freely and justly exercised, has evidently a long history of regular cultivation. Dancers, choirs, poets all vied with one 517 another to win the approval of chiefs and people. The rivalry of poets is 538 well seen in the poems of Falepapalangi and Mamaeaepoto (pp. 65-73). [535] [533]

Vaka fe ne ke hiki-la-'ia?	In what boat hast thou hoisted the sail? 539
Koe 'uli 'ahai ne ke tongia,	Whose steering hast thou replaced?
'Uli mo vakai na'a takasifa?	Steering and watching lest the course be crooked?
He koe faiva ta'e puke nima?	For is that a task without seizing with hands?
Ko hota faiva 'a mahahaki,	Ours is a task of sickly men,
Pea malo pe hono fai;	And well have we done it;
Kae tuku hono fakaaliali	But cease the showing abroad
Ho'o folehia au he kakai.	That disgusts the people with me.
Ne tonkua kuou ma'ahi'ahi, e he,	'Twas said that I was waved about, *e he,*
Kuo kovi mu'a sieku ma'ali'ali? e he,	Am I harmed by being thus made manifest? *e he,*
Pe'i tuku mu'a e fakafe'iloaki, e he	Then treat me no more as a familiar, *e he,*
Na'a 'avea koe ki huasi, e he,	Lest thou be taken to the outboard, *e he,*[16]
'O tali fekau pe mei ai, e he;	To receive orders from there, *e he;*
Atu ho'o me'a, 'o hapo e hai? e he.	A thing is thrown to thee, who will catch it? *e he.*
Ko hota takanga 'a tongiaki	Ours is a companionship of frail canoes.
Ka tukumuli, vale hono fai,	Go astern, only bungle,
Ka lauama, faka-petetangi,	Try to sing, but a bleat,[17]
Ka laumata'u, faka-kole mai,	Try to work, ask for help,
Ka hiva tu'u, vale 'i he pasi.	Stand in the song, cannot clap.[18]
Koe hua koa ia 'o hai?	Who will take pleasure in it?

DANCE SONG OF FALEPAPALANGI

The following is an attempt to render something of the rhyming of Tongan verse. The structure of the Tongan lines is loose, with no precision in the matter of feet or syllables; but even with this irregularity the open syllables of Tongan are more easily modulated rhythmically in recitation or singing than are the closed syllables of English. There are six stanzas of three lines each, rhyming throughout on the same sound, *a*. Each stanza is followed by a refrain. Then there is a longer stanza in which alternate lines rhyme, followed by five lines rhyming in a different sound, the refrain occurring once at the end. Stanzas and verses were probably all sung by all the singers, who may have been the dancers themselves, a separate band of singers, or dancers and such a band of singers together. 538 539 [533] [535]

Toi ke lilo na'a ha,	Hide out of sight lest one see,[1] 539
Ka 'ikai, tukuaipe a	If not, well then, thou shalt be
Ke hange ha lupe lauama.	As a pigeon that cheers us at sea.[2]
Angi mai, angi mai, e he,	Blow, blow, *e he,*
'Uoi he angi, e he he.	Oho for the breeze, *e he he.*
Mulimulifoe ho vaka,	With the steer-oar row peacefully,
Koe mau e hoto tangata,	My man, a bard is he,
Pea piki he pala'i maea.	And he clings to a rope for safety.
Angi mai, angi mai, etc.	Blow, blow, etc.
'Alu 'o folau he vaka,	Go and sail on the sea,

SONGS

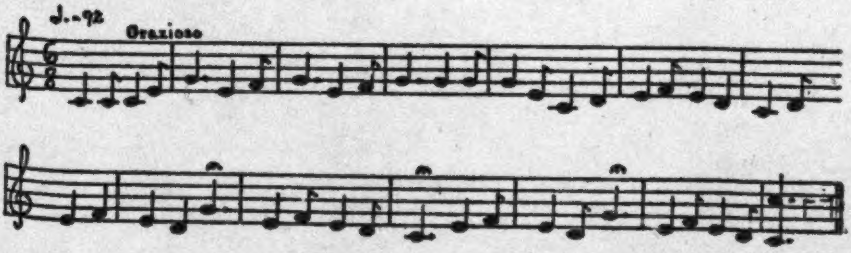
MODERN DANCE SONGS

INTRODUCTION

Although the songs that follow are called dance songs it is not to 533
be presumed that no other poems in this collection were sung as the ac- 535
companiment of dances. Many others were doubtless so used. Dance, [538]
song, and poetry go hand in hand. The most comprehensive word of the
dance is *faiva,* which is applicable to any accomplishment, or feat of skill. 535
A man's *faiva* is that wherein he excels. In relation to festivals the *ngahi faiva* are the dances. A modern innovation of very wide application is *lakalaka,* literally marching. Older names of dances are still remembered, though some are seldom used of present-day dancing. Probably many old forms of dance have survived although their specific names have dropped out of use, and have been replaced by the more indefinite *lakalaka,* which is said to have originated with marching movements of children at church festivities in the earlier days of missions. The word now covers a wide range of men's and women's dances. A characteristic *lakalaka* is performed by a row of men and a row of women, the women being in front. Dancers keep time to the music with hands and feet. Type of subject and movement are at the discretion of the leader. There is much freedom of choice.

The *lakalaka,* and many other of the dances, are indeed ballets. Many 535
of the movements are representative of the activities described by the ac- 533
companying song. Such tunes as those reproduced on pages 126-128 are
typical of those sung to the *lakalaka.* A tune given by Mariner (28, vol.
2, last one facing p. 116) is still sung, though not to the *lakalaka.* One of [796]
the best places to hear typical old music is in church prayer-meetings. Re-
ligious emotion is still stirred and best expressed by the native music unin- [781]
fluenced by later models.

The following tune was used as the accompaniment to a *lakalaka* performed at the time of the World War.



535 I have not the words of the song sung to this tune; but it started,

533 Te tau talanoa atu ki he tau, — We shall talk about the war.

539 Music has shown a very fruitful fusion of the old and the new, the native and the foreign. Native musicians compose pieces that are truly 533 characteristic of the Tongan genius, but that have range, variety, and expression greatly influenced and improved by contact with foreign music. Two tasks await the musically competent observer, a thorough examination of the genuine native music, and the collection of modern compositions. Such a collection might be made the basis of a work having popular interest and artistic merit, enabling a talented artist to do for the South Sea islander what Miss Edna Thomas is doing for the American Negro, and Frances Nickana for the Indian. There is a wealth of musical and dramatic talent among the islanders that justifies the hope that an interpreter may arise from among themselves. The Tongans have excellent brass bands and choirs. The bass singing of the men is admirable.

533 The music of the dance frequently is furnished by the voices of the dancers. Very often the dance is accompanied by a body of singers apart 535 from the dancers, called *langi*, or *langi tua*. The term *langi* is applied also to the tune. The singing and dancing are accompanied and timed by clapping 534 the hands or beating a drum. The older form of drum consisted of a bundle of bamboos, wrapped round with a mat. An empty oil-drum, with a piece of hide stretched over the open end, is often used today. On unimportant occasions, as for rehearsals, an empty kerosene tin may be used. This humble germ of an orchestra, skillfully beaten, has a note that is not at all unmusical.

535 While the number that may participate is unlimited, a *lakalaka* consists usually of about thirty or forty performers. The performers move only a few feet, generally, in any direction; most of the time they face one way, but may make turns to right or left or rear, in endless variety and complexity of the movements. During the celebration of the Jubilee of the Tupou College, Nukualofa, in 1917, performances were given by a ballet from Mua, which must have numbered about two hundred dancers, arranged in rows alternately of women and men. These performers staged pieces of great length and complexity. The lines would turn, divide, front and back rows change positions, and go through a number of evolutions, hands and feet keeping time to the music. All this was done with the greatest precision and beauty, and within limits that would not have been beyond the capacity of a moderate-sized theater stage.

At the same celebrations a party from Hihifo performed what was liter- 539 ally a *lakalaka*, marching. A long line of performers moved, with a sort of waltz step, slowly across the green in a serpentine file, keeping time with double thuds of the bamboo, now on this side of their feet, and now on that. The rhythmic hollow drumming of the bamboos, and the movements 585 of the slowly-advancing winding line, were peculiarly effective. Labillardière 533 (27) mentions a kind of orchestra of thirteen musicians with bamboos which they struck on the ground.

Sipa is a dance in which the movements are like those of the *lakalaka*, but the accompanying music is like a chanty (*tauaalo*). (See p. 121.)

A dance which enjoys a great vogue is the Fijian *meke*, or club dance. This is accompanied by the drum alone. A small party, including the drummer, or drummers, sits down at a distance from the dancers, who are all men, each carrying a club over his shoulder. The drumming commences, slowly and softly at first, but quickening in time and increasing in volume. There are shouts from the club-bearers and presently a single figure comes skirmishing forward. His steps keep time to the beats of the drum, as he comes on, bending this way and that, performing various evolutions with his club. He seems to be a sort of scout, or, more probably, a representative of the inciting and challenging to single combat which preceded battle. (I have seen the suggestion made, but I forget by whom, that the reason of the challenging gestures and insults which brought on one or more single combats before the battle became general, in primitive warfare may have had a religious motive, so that the enemy might be guilty of the *hybris* of striking the first blow.) The single warrior advances toward the party where the drummer is seated, but presently retreats again to the main party, which advances, sometimes with both hands on the handles of clubs, which are resting on shoulders, keeping time to the drum with hands and elbows, sometimes performing more intricate movements with club and body and limbs. As the warriors draw closer and closer the beats of the drum and the movements of the dancers quicken, though the rate of their advance is not appreciably accelerated. Heads and faces, bodies, arms and legs, are all expressive of the spirit of the war dance. The tension and excitement of performers and spectators rise higher and higher. It seems as though the dancers will break and rush upon the party with whom the drummer sits, and upon the spectators. Suddenly there is a shout and a dramatic stop. The inciting drumming ceases, and the dancers move quietly away. The *meke* is ended.

The realism of this dance is increased by smears of black on the performers' 302 faces, plumes stuck in the hair, and rattles of dried beans about 301 ankles and wrists—adjuncts used in all dances. 534

Another very popular dance is the *mauluulu*, said to be introduced from 177 Samoa. This is a women's sitting dance, though sometimes a line of men standing behind keep time with various movements. The music may be provided by drum, voices, or both. The performers themselves usually 535 sing. The women sit cross-legged, and keep time with slight movements

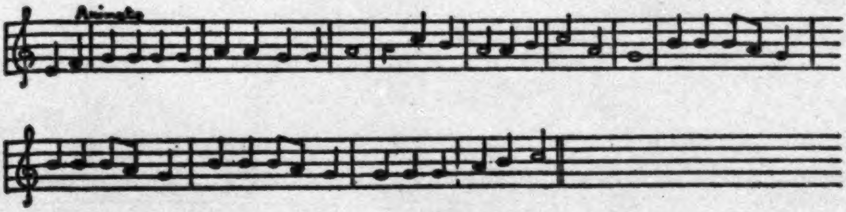
535 of the thighs, and with greater or less swayings of the body; but the main movements are with the hands and arms. Captain Cook, with excellent reason, praised the beauty of the Tongan women's hands. Hands and arms are beautifully modelled, and the muscles are extraordinarily flexible and well-controlled. The gestures, as in some other dances, may be imitative of various activities, for example, sailing a boat, pulling up sails, sailing away, pulling in a fish, sighting a far-off land. Or the movements may not be so readily interpretable. But whatever the theme and the nature of the movements, the rhythmic undulations of the swaying arms are fascinatingly beautiful. So flexible and well-controlled are the muscles of the hands that waves of movement are constantly rippling from wrists to finger-tips.

The *kailao* is a beautiful and picturesque dance. I have seen it performed only once, by two groups of men, each led by a young girl. This
[292] dance is said to be an importation from Uvea. The performers, in addition to the leaf girdles and rattles of dried beans on wrists and ankles, had head-
[299] dresses rather more elaborate than usual. All the dancers carried wooden implements with long narrow blades, not unlike cricket bats, evidently a toy-like property for the dance, but whether intended to represent clubs or paddles is difficult to say. The dancers went through a number of elaborate and difficult evolutions with these implements, feet keeping time to whirling
[533] hands and arms. The beating of the drum was quick, and the whole dance most animated.

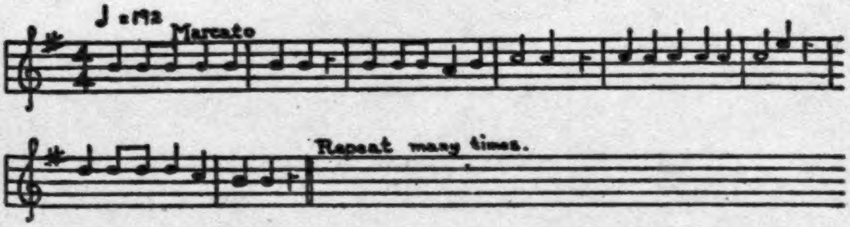
A Tongan has described to me an older form of *kailao* somewhat different. He said that all the performers sat down, and presently one jumped up and brandished his stick, club or paddle, and then another would join him, till all were engaged. It is surmised that the subjects were pictures
[293] of war or sailing. Pratt gives the Samoan cognate *ailao* as meaning "the act of fencing with, or flourishing, a club," which suggests the probability that war is the principal theme of this dance, and that the wooden implements represent clubs.

Most dances belong to great festivals; but one, the *tauolunga*, is seen on less formal occasions. Nowadays it is sometimes danced at concerts conducted on the European model. I have seen a *tauolunga* danced at a concert by two young men, or boys, and one girl or young woman. The performers move back and forth across the stage, hands, body, and feet all in unison. The whole dance is full of grace and animation, the movements of the male performers being more varied and animated than those of the girl.
535 In a concert hall the accompaniment is singing voices, clapping hands, or
533 piano; but of course there is no difficulty in dispensing with the piano. The dancers do not sing. The following is a very popular tune for the *tauolunga*.

I have not all the words, merely those of the refrain at the end, *Tu* 535
malala, which either mean "burn charcoal," or are unmeaning. They are 533
sung for their soft and rhythmic syllables, and not for their meaning. This
tune, too, is suitable for the *tauolunga.* I have frequently seen a number of
girls sit and sing it, clapping their hands to the time. It is sung over and [539]
over again to words, which seem to be meaningless. "Vai Singano" is the 535
river Singano in Samoa; *liva* may possibly be the English word river, in 533
which case *liva fo* would mean river where clothes are washed. (Clothes 539
are washed in the streams of Samoa, but the Tongans are not blessed with
such exemption from the toil of carrying water for the tub.) There is,
however, a Tongan word *liva;* but no sense can be made of the lines.



Ou tamuta vai Singano,
Ou tamuta liva fo.



Sometimes a number of people are sitting together. Presently singing 535
and clapping start, and someone, man or woman, young or old, jumps up and dances. Feet, hands, and a rotating movement of the hips all keep time to the music. In all probability another, either man or woman, will soon jump up, and the pair dance about, sometimes close to one another, sometimes far apart, turning in all directions. Although the dances follow a well understood general mode, each dancer improvises for himself; frequently one incites another to follow his movements. There are men and women who have a reputation for skill and grace in this sort of thing. One, or two, may go through the dance, or others may be moved to join, until quite a large number are engaged. Humorous antics are frequently introduced, greatly appreciated by the onlookers. It is a free-and-easy amuse-

called *po-ula*. Cook's description of the dances he saw (18, vol. 2, pp. 96-98) 535 recounts a dance of women, followed by a dance of men who went through much the same movements as the women.

A dance, *tafi*, is described as a sitting dance of men, in which the movements are descriptive of various activities.

The word *ula* is applied to dancing and singing. The reduplicated form [192] *ulaula* is used today of European dancing. Mariner, however,, mentions *ula* as the name of a specific night dance, or rather of two dances, one of long standing in Tonga, and the other recently introduced from Samoa.

The name of an entertainment (*hea*) is found in many old stories, though it seems to have passed out of contemporary use. Mariner (28, vol. 2, p. 535 214) describes it as a very ancient Tongan dance practised only by chiefs 565 and superior *matapule*:

> . . . and a dance very difficult to execute, not only on account of the accompanying [533] gesture, but also of the singing. The chorus is composed of ten or twelve of the chiefs or principal matabooles, in the middle of whom sits one who beats time upon a loose flat piece of hardwood, about three feet long, and an inch and a half square, fastened only at one end upon another similar piece. This is struck by two small sticks, one in each hand, and produces a rattling sound. The difficulty of keeping the time is owing to the extreme velocity with which they beat, particularly towards the latter end. The dancers, who are all men, in the meantime perform their evolutions round the chorus, exhibiting a vast variety of very graceful movements with the arms and head, accompanied by expressions of countenance suitable to the character of the dance, which is that (abstractedly) to a, manly and noble spirit, consistent with the minds and habits of a superior person, and therefore it is deemed essential that every chief and mataboole should learn it.

Labillardière (27) describes a men's dance in Tonga, in which the performers held in their hands little clubs, which they moved about, making 535 at the same time various movements with their feet, at first in slow time, then quicker. Labillarière says that the travellers' admiration was excited by the velocity and animation of the dancers. He describes the dance as celebrating the noble deeds of warriors. This would seem to be an exhibition of the *hea*.

A men's dance, with spears, axes, and like manly implements and weapons is the *mee tupaki*, still performed. Mariner calls the *mee tupaki* "a dance standing up with paddles; a day-dance." He says that this was one of the dances witnessed by Captain Cook. And Cook (18, vol. 2, p. 95) describes a paddle dance, performed by 105 men, in which there were not only many skillful flourishes of the hands, but also complicated changes of the three lines in which the dancers first ranged themselves.

In connection with marriage ceremonies is a dance called *lanumanga*, 535 which I have neither seen nor heard described. One of my brief notes 585 suggests *fokai* (lizard) as the name of a dance, and also indicates that the

585 priest, or priestess, of the *feke* (octopus god) represented the octopus at 585 times by sprawling on the ground.

527 766 Dances, of course, figure largely in the festivals for any joyous occasion. In earlier days, dances were performed at the funerals of great chiefs, and at the important religious festival of Inasi (First fruits). (See 18, vol. 2, pp. 131-135; 28, vol. 2, pp. 168-173; 37, p. 158.) Krämer (26, vol. 2, pp. 314-328) gives a description of Samoan dances, illustrated by photographs.

533 535 Although dancing, song, and instrumental music usually go together, they are not always associated. Labillardière says that he heard an extremely monotonous duet upon bamboo flutes and mentions Pan's pipes, or flutes, of which the "tubes give full and not very extensive notes, and the highest 533 forms a fourth with the lowest." While I have not seen the Pan's pipes, I 534 have seen the nose flute (*fangufangu*), but this, too, is becoming rare. The blowing of the conch is still fairly common, and there are a number of the wooden drums (*lali*).

533 Mariner mentions *lave* and *fakanua* as types of song. But the term *lave* is used for recitation, song, or for composition recited or sung.

FALAOLONGO [1]

533 539
Falaolongo hard by Kailahi's cave,[2]
Fineingo and Tausisivavaki,
And the toa tree Tuihalafatai[3]
Its plaintive sighing in Avataliapi.[4]
I stood by Huafaikitama[5]
Smiling upward on the meadow.
Vailahi, my way is hidden,[6]
I remember Veingangana[7]
Playing hide-and-seek with Vaitakiafale;
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind perchance is from the north,[8]
Is it blowing upon Keitahi,
Meitumu and the breaking wave,
Veiatavake and Vaoatokotoko?[9]
The wind has gone about,
Blown about the dripping water in Veitoto;[10]
Height above Lokupo with its clinging mist,[11]
By the road in the midst of the mountain.
The moon's soft glow and uprising
Flooding with light the *fatai* and the grass,[12]
By the pool-gemmed coast of Fotumoko.[13]
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind remains in the north,
Goes gently round on the Sacred Coast,[14]
On Veingangana and Vai Aku,[15]
My vain search in the deep for bonito;[16]
I long to go on to Huangalau,[17]
Borne hither the fame of its beauty;
Is the weather coast of Tonga told in chosen words[18]
By the sand of Laulea?
When uprisen is the moon,
And gleams on Fakaulunafa[19]
And the pool Valekatoua.
Dear weather-coast of Tonga here am I.

SONG OF FISHERS [1]

In the moons of Former Nit and Rain,[2]
Moon for this paddling on the sea,
Early has gone the king of Tefisi;[3]
Fast approaches a day of assembly.
On the morning's morn bring the boats around,
Ashore in Fasia, and early go—[4]
Tofoa at the dawn, Halakakala,[5]
And Houmafeo and Faiana,[6]
Fotuia, Ta'ane, and Omai.
Gathered are all the fisherman chiefs;
Let us look about for a teller of winds,[7]
On a day that is near for the kava ring.[8]
The nets have been lifted at Fakapu,[9]

O'er the face of Nuku has thunder sounded.[9]
In the channel [bonito] have eaten their prey,
They have dived below at Holaavaka,[10]
[The fishers] have scored at Matafota.[11]
Let us paddle about in Vainoa,[12]
Let us follow on in Hopohoponga,[13]
And Nimafuaatu here into the shallow.[14] 533
Cease from the chase in Peauapuaka—[15]
Alas and alack, this bonito is vanishing, 539
The headland of Late is left behind;[16]
From Tama yonder have they gone on[17]
To Upeupe to let them go.
But count, the reef has fruitful been.

SONG OF FISHERS[1]

Come, let us praise, O southern wind
The trawling ground, that ye may know,
Telekivavau and Telekitonga,[2]
Fetokopunga and eke Lalona.[3]
Tatohofa has pulled in fish[4]
On the night when the moon's first risen at dawn;[5]
We shall paddle along by Matafau,[6]
Houma-tau and Fonuaika.
The little fish swim hither and thither,[7]
We steer about, and no success.
At early dawn to Nonuku and Naa,[8]
To windward have gone the little fish,
When the *valu* goes over them he is pulled in.
The little *ulukau* have come to the top.[9]
The fish is lost, but 'tis the current.
Near is the night of the *palcio.*[10]
Come, let us chase o'er Auhangamea,[11]
And sleep, and trail the line.
Return, the little fish is *memea.*[12]
Valu and *ulua* are brought on board.[13]
Remember the night *mauna.*[14]
We shall trail the line to Toamotua,[15]
In this space [the fish] look at the prey.[16]
We pursue to Luahoko ere dawn,[17]
For the little fish show everywhere.
At Ofolanga let us go to sleep,
Let us trail the hook from the west.
'Tis a day when few are the little fish—
Good luck that we have remembered,[18]
Let us seek at Puke and Faleovalu,
For our hook [with its burdens] is broken.

PRAISE OF BEACHES

A note at the end of this piece says that it was to be performed *tuutau-hoa,* that is, with men and women standing alternately, or with two rows, a dancer in the front row having another standing immediately behind. 533 539 535

The poem celebrates various beaches and other natural features on the coast of eastern Tongatabu. 823 The text, which is not reproduced as there is little to learn from it, shows the greater smoothness, and less force, which are the fruit of European education. It belongs to the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is divided into nine stanzas, with a chorus, sung after every stanza.

Give heed to me, our festive throng,
I shall tell the row of beaches,
The gathering place of the fleets of boats
When they plan to meet together.
I shall praise the strand Longonoa,
When the calm evening falls
Like a bird with fluttering wing
The dear shade of the crest of the land.
Strand Tukulolo we shall praise,
Alakifonua and Hilatali,
The dear standing of the great banyan tree,[1]
The Shade of Fulilangi.
I shall praise the strand of Leolava,[2]
A thing of all to delight the gaze,
Like the deck of a boat that is crowded
Dear stand of the town that is pleasing.[3]
I shall praise our sacred beach,
Early morn of a dewy night
A thing most lovely to me
Is to gaze at Kolongahau,[4]
That is hid in clinging mist,
Like a chief's head crowned with lime.
I shall praise the strand Metevae

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

533 That lies spread hither and yon,
539 A thing most lovely it is,
Its dear standing shame-faced,
535 Like a wrong-doer discovered,
823 Ensnared by its loveliness.
I shall praise the strand Foiaka,
In the place of Niutao the pleasing,
Sweet *sunufea-ni* with its blooming,[8]
And the smooth white sand with its gleaming.[9]
I shall praise the eastern strand,
The quarreling (waves) of the Tauafanga;
Best of all beautiful things
Is to stand and look towards 'Onevai,
Which dear appears in the mist
Like a face upturned with smiling.
I shall praise the strand of fragrant flowers,
And the standing of Motu-tapu;
Lovely it is to me
When the wind is fair from the north,
Like the sounding of a flute
The dear murmur of swaying palms.

Chorus.
Youth, let us pace the dance,
And dance in unison;
And look upon our line of strands,
Lovely its appearance.
Aue, youth, let us dance,
And dance in unison,
And look upon our line of strands.

SONG OF FRAGRANT FLOWERS

533 539 824 In this poem occur words for many of the different plaits and ways of making up leaves and flowers into necklaces and girdles. To a greater extent than among Europeans are plants and flowers prized, not because they are pretty, but because they are fragrant. Each of the six stanzas is followed by the chorus.

Harken to me my countrymen,
This praise of mine of heart of Nua.[1]
When it is evening I remember
In love the fragrance of its odors.
It is known by whoso knows this land,
Sweet-smelling garlands the food I seek.
Harken to me, O gathering,
And I shall speak my tale
Of our headlands of fragrant flowers,
Whither resort our wanderings.
The *tuitui* and *lavalava*,[2]
Twine the *nusipalataha*,
Like an army in array;
Lifted up is the *lalaheilala*,
When merit is reckoned it is first,
See the thing that goes in beauty.
Fakaotusia and *alamea*,[3]
The armlet of a rambling man.
My *fakalotu* twined with *langakali*,[4]
Sweetly smelling from its sleep in sea water;[5]
It fills the space beneath my pillow,
And robs the mind of reason.
Hingano the lower in a double plait,[6]
Veevee and *tuituivao*,[7]
Pa'anga-pulupaki, gardenia strung together,
Faka-mata-moana is the wild *huni*.
When the dew falls I am crowned with a garland,
To be fragrant as day is at hand.
Thou who art stranger come and see,
When the flowers are op'ning on fragrant shrubs,
The headland with its blossoming
Is the thing of all most pleasing.
Plucked and strung on a ribbon's length,[8]
Fluttering in the wind the girdle's streamers,
Then it fills with the pride of beauty,
And most lovely is to me.

Chorus
Maiden, the wind is in the south,
Come dancing hither,
And blows on the pool Latai,[10]
Come dancing hither;
Let us turn to the town of faded garlands,[11]
And featly step our dances,
And pluck the *huni* and *lanjakali*
To wreathe our necks in this assembly.

MALOKULA

The following is an example of topical verse. This poem was composed 533
for and performed at festivals held to collect money to buy a boat for 539
Haapai. The boat was called the *Malokula,* and the people of Haapai are 527
also *malokula* (red-sashed). This has been their distinguishing mark in war, 434
and in the peaceful contests of the dance and sports. 552

101

Lovely is our festival,
And our dancing contest,
Red-sashed here we meet in Tonga.
Let be Vavau and Haapai
That they struggle like men of the sea,
That is as their wont.
But do in the manner of great Tonga,[1]
Festival held from place to place,
And many are they who gather.
And we meet well-pleased in Pangai,
Compete, but in friendly wise,
And finish in mutual liking.
Warm are the feelings for "Malokula,"
And the majesty of the Leaf-of-pua,[2]
But indeed it is not a little voyage.[3]
Our dear rejoicing and rivalry,
Hihifo and the district in the center yonder,
And the poor castaway from the weather coast.

Chorus
Aue, step it and return,
Dancing hands towards the center, for our hands are moving badly,
Youth, come dancing hither, for that is but our way,
Let us step it with attention,
And dance in unison,
For our feet are out of time.

LAUGHTER OF WOMEN[1]

Laughter of women plucking *hingano,*
In the darkness climbing up and down;
Let us go at dawn to pluck *omoko,*
Gather hala that falls in ripeness,
Our fragrant adornment for festival.
Neck-wreaths as we go up from surf-riding.
Fakalikutonga from Finehika,[2]
Langakali and *moonia,*[3]
Portulaca and *tinatila*
For adornment of a wedded matron,
But give it to Fuaahoia,[4]
Then rejoicing carry on the dance.
If there be a stranger let him give attention
To the one accustomed to the *siale-tafa,*
New-comer yonder do you look upon
The completed snaring on Matamoana,
And the *pipi* from Fakimamana,[5]
And the *heilala* of Namalata,[6]
To twine about the necks of singers on the deck
Of a boat in darkness on the deep.
Like a dove with its wings a-flutter
Is the *omoko* of Holaavaka;[7]
I shall twine a garland from Mohelaelanga,[8]
And give to a pleasing companion,
When the fishers go up from Halakakala,
And sleep in Utulongoaa.[9]

Chorus
Stranger come that I may tell,
Newcomer who hast not yet seen
The headlands and the blossoms;
And it wins the heart,
And is lovely friend,
For that it is that wins the heart of me.

IF THERE BE A STRANGER

If there be a stranger let him harken to me,
Aue, folk, come dancing hither[1]
My tale that is told
How stands the town of faded garlands.
When the sun is near its setting,
And straightway the wind blows on Alaki,
And the calm falls on this strand.
I shall go down to Haapuopmai,[2]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

533 And see the opening Talilaki,[3]
Dear position of Nukufeheaki,[4]
539 There come down the women to dip the flowers plucked.
Let us go on the seashore road
To the pool Tuamaukau,
To the *hingano* in its budding,
And the *mohokoi* with its fragrance[5]
Borne away to the pool Tufu.
Come, let us go up to land,
Entwine neck and waist with scented flowers,
In fragrance that distracts the mind.
My scented oil when it is even[6]
Certain it is I shall give to thee,
I shall give it to anoint thee for the sea,
I shall stay and remember thee;
But Vaiola has prevented me,[7]
That Hunibush with idle chatter.
And the *heilala* of Tatakamotonga,
And murmur the leaves of its toa;
And lovely it is when the wind blows strong,
Lightly murmuring falls its speech,
Friend, and then it is lovely.
But, ah, what of that, a dewy night!
The sweet perfumes of this scented grove,
Like the bosom of a woman of Halaleva,[8]
When she has made ready to walk abroad.
The dear north wind blows straight upon,
Wakes up the slumber of Langonga,[9]
And our road to Fonuamoa.
Glance up to the land side of the road,
To Longoakau and Utulifuka,
There stands the *fa-onelua*.[10]
Let us walk in Olotele the pleasant,
Lapaha with the futu tree Vuna,[11]
And be robed in its double-rowed *sisi*,[12]
The girdle of a common man of Mua,[13]
Cool it is in the time of heat.
How I love the Feingakotone,[14]
Yet who told it thee?
Folaosioeiki yonder,[15]
Appears at a distance Takuimalae,[16]
A green that chooses names renowned,
'Twas famous as a double-mat.
Soil whose name is of old,
Takuilau and Tangitangi,[17]
'Ahofakasiu and eke Fepaki.
I love the fragrance of *langakali*,
A thing to distract the mind.

WHEN IN THE MORNING

When in the morning shadows fall,
Then straightway rises my remembrance;
Come, let us walk on the weather-shore,
And stand on the strand Tukuaku,
And pluck hala in its sweetness,
And *hingano* budding.
I shall stand on Tokuaokulilo,
See how Fotumoko stands;
And one's heart is turned to water
By the appearing of Nukumalolo.
Comes a stranger in his viewing,
Go down and stand in Veingangana,
And glance ashore at Ana Umata,
Lovely is the road Sialetafa.
Anaafitu the headland, and Anapulou and the ford,
As appears a smiling woman stands the row of headlands.
Harken, I shall tell the Falaoulukivaiola
That leans lightly on the hala in Likisia.
Hear, dear stranger woman, 'tis the end of the Sacred Coast,
And the headlands of the weather shore I have finished telling.
Ended my praise; I shall return, I shall go and live in the land,
And live at the rock Fale o Hina, and see the sun's uprising.

Chorus
He, oi, dance hither in unison,
Oi, dance in unison,
Oi, dance.

A CHORUS

Maiden slumber and awaken,
Maiden rise, come dancing hither,
Let us gather flowers lest even come.
Maiden arise, come dancing hither,
Twine flowers and give away anon;
Maiden arise, come dancing hither,
With neck wreaths to adorn a stranger;
Maiden arise, come dancing hither.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

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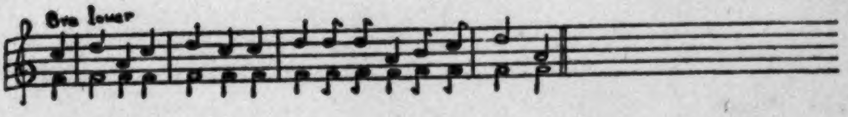
539

CHANTIES



1	Tuha pe pipi-tongi, lolohea Mo siete taua'alo tafea.	Fitting are *pipitongi, lolohea* My dear little chanty carried eastern.[1]
2	Keitahi mo Falefilimoto, Langa siu e folau aalo.	Keitahi and Falefilimoto,[2] Rowing boat goes early a-fishing.
3	Ka ko Tuniloa ene tafe 'I lalo he matanga 'o Tele.	But Tuniloa as it flows Neath the lookout place of Tele.[3]
4	'One'one 'o Fangamofuike Na'e tongione na'i fefine.	Sand of Fangamofuike[4] [Where] a dear woman limed her hair.
5	E fefine kumi ho lelei koe, He 'oku te vale 'i he to'o fohe, Ha me'a e ao ai ho loto, He 'oku te 'uli ta'e-ngaholo.	Ah, woman, seek thou thy good, Unskilled am I in handling oar, Whate'er thy heart is pleased withal, For there is no speed in my steering.[5]
6	Ko Hihifo kuo laka Kae mahu ai Tonga.	Hihifo is on the march And there is plenty in Tonga.
7	Ko 'Ilo'i-tu'unga koau, Tu'a-liku 'o Vale-fanau.	I am He-that-knows-his-place, Weather shore of Valefanau.[6]
8	Koe me'a pe a ua kuou 'ilo, Koe vale pe moe tu'a-piko.	Two things only have I known, Foolishness and crooked back.
9	Koau e koe pekipaki,[7] Fiuanga e tahi moe matangi; Koau e koe malolo, Fiuanga e tahi moe momoko.	I am the stinging medusa,[7] Overcomer of sea and wind; I am the flying-fish, Overcomer of sea and cold.
10	Lau mai e, lau mai e, Tatau pe, tatau pe.	Talk on this hand; talk on that, Just the same, just the same.[8]
11	'Oku 'alu 'ae ika katoa 'oku fie fanau Kia Tu'i Ahua 'o fanau ai 'o toki ha'u.	Every fish that wishes to breed goes To Tui Ahau[9] and breeds and then returns.
12	Faka-motu'a ke tao ha tua.	'Tis of an old man to cook a yam.[10]

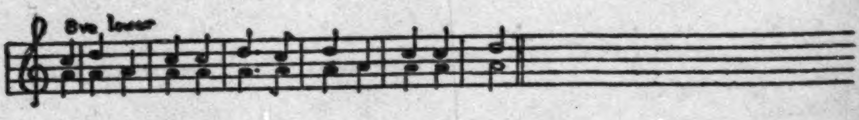
533
539

13	
Ko kita pe ʻoku te mate,	'Tis only I who am wearied to death,
Tautea pe, tautea pe.	Only punished, only punished.[11]
14	
Te ʻofa ki Haʻano,	I love [the isle] Haano,
Ki he tuituivao,	The sweetly-scented wreaths,
Matalaʻi-siale,	The flower of the gardenia,
Moe maka ko Mei-longo-peʻe.	And the rock Meilongopee.[12]
15	
Ka tofu a,	When be-calmed,
Ka hako a,	When be-stormed,
Koe peheʻi koa ke ha?	Such treatment is for why?[13]
16	
Koe ngongo moe lofa	The gull and the tern,
Naʻi manu ʻo Tele-ki-tonga.	Dear bird of Telekitonga.[14]
17	
Unu mai Hina mo ene Toloa,	Come near Hina[15] and her Wild Duck,[16]
Unu mai Toloa mo ene Hina.	Come near Wild Duck and its Hina.
18	
ʻIkai te ke siki ʻa Foa,	You can not reach to Foa.
Kae fai e aka ki Muitoa.	But will come at Muitoa.[17]
19	
Nofo nofo hifo,	Be seated, seated down,[18]
Oua e ngaue,	Do not move,
Oua e ngaue.	Do not move.
20	
Kalau he motu ne ngali niua,	Kalau[19] an island that seemed supplied with nuts,
Ne fekeʻi ai ʻae ongo ʻotua,	Over it two gods had a quarrel;
Tuku hono ngeʻesi kae heke telefua.	Left his shell and slid along naked.

POEM OF TAUFAAHAU[20]

21	
Ko Haʻa-feva tala ki Kotu	Haafeva tell to Kotu[21]
Hoʻomou malie faka-motu,	Your pleasantness island-wise,
Mo Haʻapai tefua ki Fanga-nonu,	And Haapai come together to Fanga-nonu,[22]
Kau ʻalu ki Tonga ʻo fakatonu,	I shall go to Tonga and make things right,
Liu mai ke ta motu-lootou.	Come back that we may finish off.

Chants Nos. 22-27 are sung to the following air.



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534

22

Liku Tonga, liku tapu,
Laulea moe ngalu.

Tonga's seashore, sacred seashore,
Laulea and breakers.

23

Fuhi fa malama ‘i Ana Manu,
Ngangana he toli ‘e he peau.
Fuhi fa malama ‘i Mataloko,
Ufia-taufia ‘e he ngongo.
Fuhi fa malama ‘i Keitahi,
Ngangana he toli ‘e he matangi.

Cluster of bright hala in Anamanu,
Fallen, plucked off by the waves.
Cluster of bright hala in Mataloko,
[Fallen] swallowed down by the tern.
Cluster of bright hala in Keitahi,
Fallen, plucked off by the wind.

24

Fine tangi he mo‘unga ko Kao,
Tangi hono fie hifo ki lalo,
Ka kuo te hola hifo pe kita,
Kae tuku ke feao mo Lofia.

Women weeping on the mountain Kao,
Weeping in her longing to descend,
But I myself fleeing have descended,
And leaving her to company with Lofia.

No. 19 is the farewell of warriors of Vavau as they were leaving to fight in the war at Pea, about the middle of the nineteenth century. [126]

25

Sia ko Kafoa, ‘Alo‘i-talau,
Ko eku tatau eni kau ‘alu.
Ka ‘ilonga ha ‘ikai teu ha‘u,
Kuo kelekele aki Tongatabu.

Hill of Kafoa, Aloitalau,
This my parting is, I shall go.
And if perchance I come not again,
Mingled is my dust with Tongatabu.

26

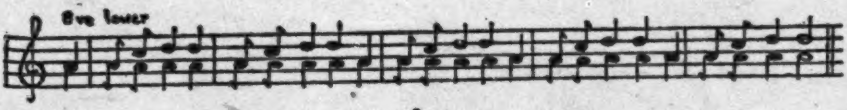
Ko Eua e moe toafa,
Moe esi ‘o Koloa-ki-maha.

Eua and its grassy downs,
And mound of Koloakimaha.

27

Fine tangi loi ‘i Utu-malama,
Hukena he tokelau lafalafa.

Woman of false tears in Utumalama,
Carried away by the wind from the north.



28

Maile mio
Pua ‘i le vao,
Taunga opeope,
Toli ‘a fafine.

Twisting *maile,*
Pua in the forest,
Hanging drooping,
Plucked by the women.

29

Ta e to‘a, tu‘u e to‘a,

‘Ilonga pe vale pea hola.

Strike the champion, stand the champion,
Whoe'er is unskilled let him flee.

30

Ta e tui, ta e toa,
Fei mo tau kei katoa.

Strike the piercer, strike the smiter,
Hasten to battle still complete.

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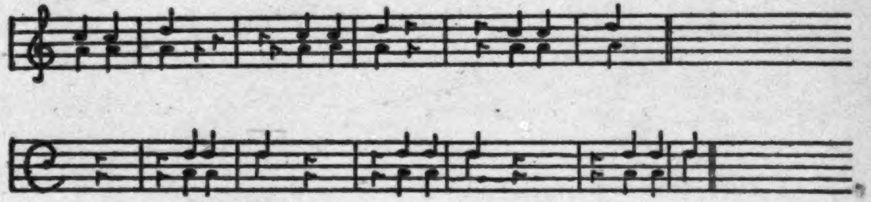
Chanty No. 31 is used by sailors in making sail, and in general by men hauling on a heavy load. The first and third lines are sung by the leader, and the second and fourth are the response by the body of the men.



31

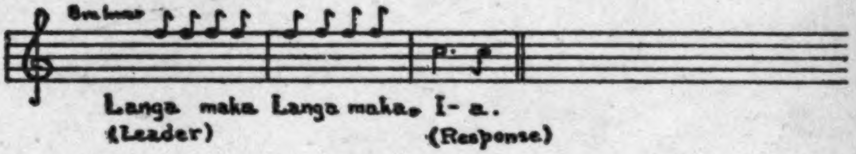
Fai la, fai la, tu,	Make sail, make sail, *tu*,
O-a.	*O-a.*
I-o-i-a e	*I-o-i-a e,*
E.	*E.*

[764]

Chanty No. 32, sung to the same tune as No. 31, was used especially in raising and lowering the stone covering of a burial vault. Chanties were sung during such tasks even at the tomb of Tui Tonga.

32

Langa maka, langa maka (sung by leader)	Raise stone, raise stone,
I-a (response by men).	*I-a.*

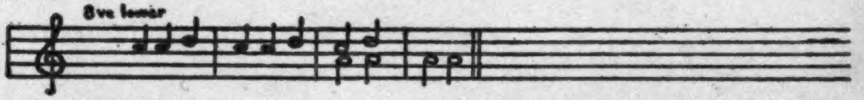


[483]
[461]

Chanty No. 33 is used in hauling heavy weights.

33

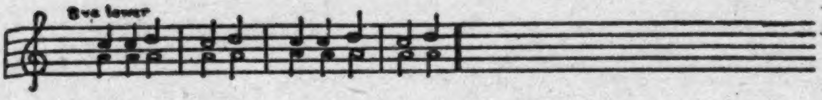
Amatu e, a mai e,
To-ho, i-o.[illegible] (These two lines sung by leader.)
Io. (Response by men.)



34

Lau ki Tave mo Mata-lave,	Tell of Tave and Matalave,[illegible]
Mo'unga moe Kolo-utu-kape.	Mountain and Koloutukape.

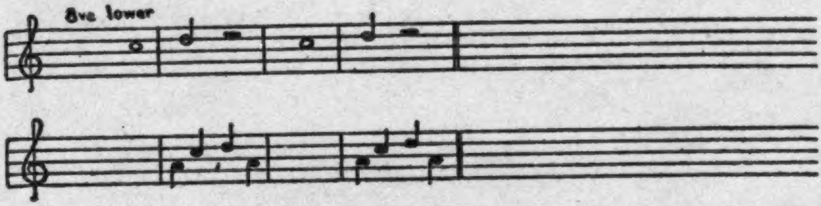
533
539



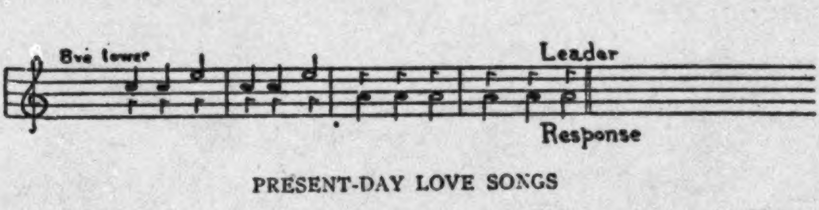
35

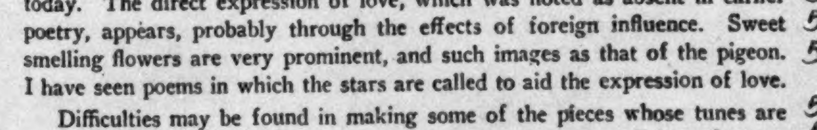
Hekeheka he puke;
Tongia. (Response)
Foki kovi aipe,
Tongia. (Response)

Sitting on the decking."
Take your turn.
Keep returning badly,
Take your turn.



In two other chanties, sung by men hauling on heavy weights. "Tai-vo-vo, Tai-vo-vo" is sung by the leader. The response is "He-ae-ae a-e-a." [483]





PRESENT-DAY LOVE SONGS

The following are a few specimens of a type of composition familiar today. The direct expression of love, which was noted as absent in earlier 533 poetry, appears, probably through the effects of foreign influence. Sweet 539 smelling flowers are very prominent, and such images as that of the pigeon. 538 I have seen poems in which the stars are called to aid the expression of love.

Difficulties may be found in making some of the pieces whose tunes are 533 given fit the tunes. I have not aimed at giving greater precision of meter 539 127

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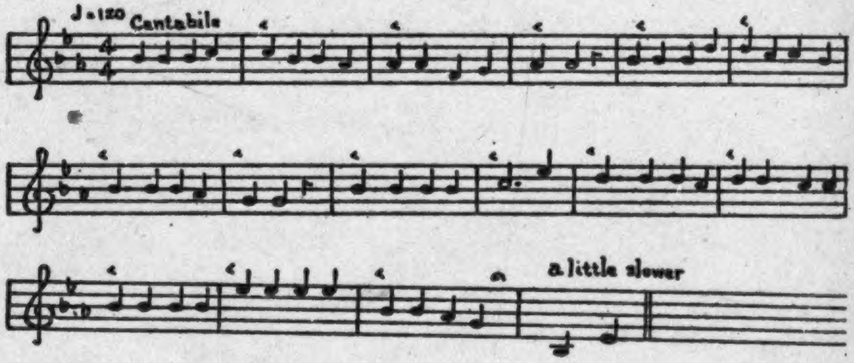
533 to the English than the Tongan composers give to their compositions. These
539 difficulties are overcome by phrasing, turning crotchets into semibreves or
127 quavers, and so on, as need arises.

Pieces of this sort, tunes and words, are being continuously composed.
533 A pleasing songbook could be collected of airs properly harmonized and
539 words treated freely so as to conform to the requirements of meter. With
regard to subject matter, the Tongan theme could be taken and treated
freely where desired.



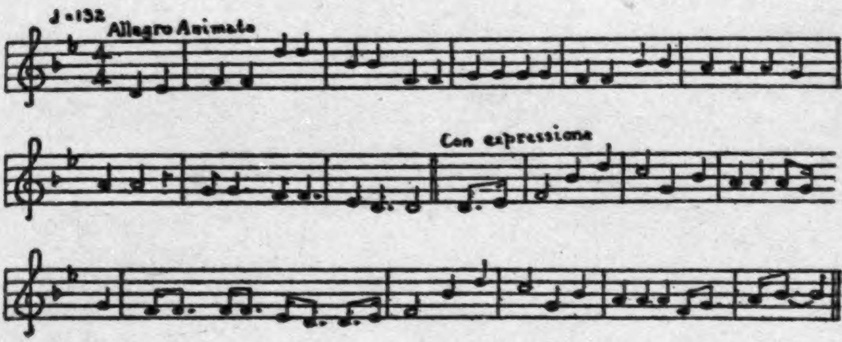
Blossoms of *tetefa* and budding of *siale*,
Ah, my dear queen's longing that she be exalted;
Oh, my heart is pained by our separation,
Death's own self would not be to me so sore agony. *A-e.*

Am I a *siale* that my bloom should open?
Or am I a tropic-bird that I soar afar?
Oh, my heart is pained by our separation,
Death's own self would not be to me so sore agony. *A-e.*

To tune No. 14 are sung the following satiric verses: The boats come from Haapai to Tongatabu for what? To pluck sweet scented plants, and engage in festival and pleasure? No, they come because they are hungry
[552] and want yams, of which *kahokaho* and *kaumeili* are two kinds. *Fetuu Aho* and *Volokaile* are names of two boats.

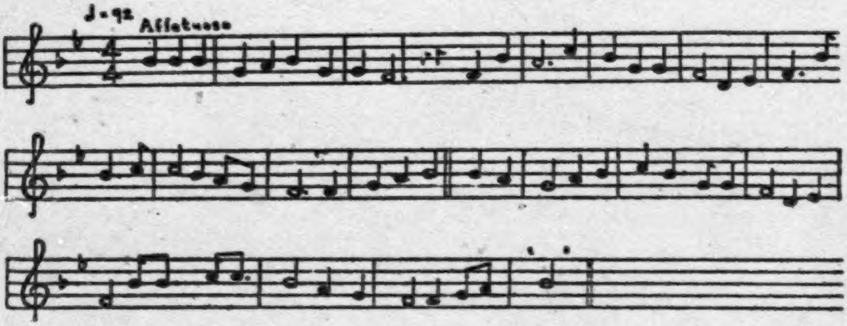
Now there comes to shore the Fetuu Aho,
Haapai's western isles have voyaged hither;
Have they hither come to pluck the sweet hala?
Nay, they come to seek the Rahokaho. *A-e.*

Now there comes to shore the *Volokaile*,
Haapai's eastern isles have voyaged hither;
Have they hither come to pluck the leaves of myrtle?
Nay, they come to seek the *kaumeile. A-e.*



533
539

Ah, my heart is weeping
At remembrance of the fragrance
Of white roses and the mapa lily
And *heilala*.
Who then is it shall be able
Of thy charms to make description,
All the manner of thy beauty?
And thou art mine own dear love.
There comes a true love
For thee, for thee;
Do not weep beloved,
Ah, my darling heart.



Wise Solomon hath told us
When with anxious mind we sleep
We're oft beset by demons,
'Tis an irksome malady.
Oiaue, mine own dear pigeon,
Mine own dear love the lily.

There was a day on which I sat,
Called to mind thy sacred body;
It came and went, and I must seek
Wherewith my longing may be comforted.
Oiaue, mine own dear pigeon,
Mine own dear love the lily.

He Mea Mamahi

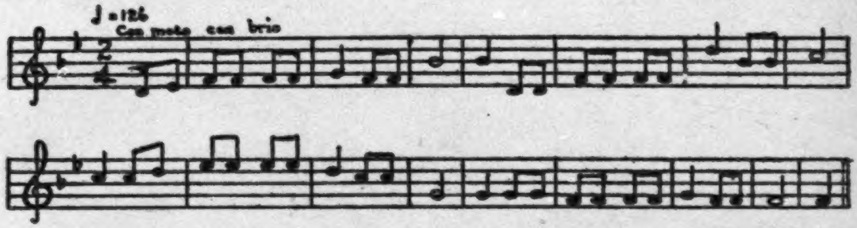
Grievous is my dwelling far away;
I wander friendless in this group of isles;
Fain would I be with the fragrant *Huni*,[1]
But there is nothing can assuage my longing.
Grievous is my aimless dwelling,
I am sick with longing for the town Kafoa;
Great have been the blows and stabbing,
But I'm transfixed by dear Leaf-of-kukona.[2]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

ISA LANGAKALI

533
539

Ah me, *langakali*,[3] what a wonder this,
Thy heart's wish that thou appear upon a day;
But this of my heart is the fond desire,
That thou be manifest both day and night.
Dear one, shall this love be e'er forgotten?
Remember that thou art mine only one,
In the overflowing of my love to thee.
Love to the fragrance true
Claimed for mine own necklace;
One wanders at his will midst blossoms sweet,
But I am still and am wounded sore.
No more to me is it sweet to slumber,
And when I wake 'tis to remember thee,
And when I shall die..............................
..............................with me be buried.



White rose is it then thy purpose to depart?
With remembrance will I be distracted.
Woe is me, who is it that shall tell
My truest love to the *kuku-valu?*[4]
Oiaue, hingano leaf,
Leaf of *huni*, ah, it is my woe;
False hast thou been it appeareth,
To me thou hast dissembled, to another true.
But yet whate'er may be my fortune's lot
I submissively shall bear it;
So shall to all the world be manifest
For one alone is this true love of mine.
Dear *siale-tafa* of modest mien
It was not love thou knewest;
But from thee hast thou cast me quite away,
And for a lover hast thou wandered far.
Oiaue, leaf of cinnamon,
Do thou only speak thy words in truth,
For of thy deceit I am aweary;
Oiaue, the fruitless folly.

KAKALA 'O TONGA

Sweet flower of Tonga a gift shall I bring,
Kulukona, langakali, fragrant *heilala*,
Motelolo and *pua* again give to thee,
Dear fragrance for thee when thou sail the sea.
My dear love heilala leaf,
All unskilled is my heart to recount
The over-flowing love of my soul,
Death alone shall avail to unfold it.
Sweet is the oil of *lapasita*,
It touches me, and straightway I rejoice;
Mingled fragrance she to me has given,
Odorous her dear silken ribbon.

Chorus.
Love to thee, I shall love thee,
I shall love thee unto death;
Better were it for the rose to perish
Than in such pain my life be continued.

539 484 505 887 8. Two copies of the text read *Pea mou o ne, o folaue;* I know no meaning for *ne* in this position, and a very intelligent Tongan emended it to *pe*.

9. It is not clear whether pray (*lotu*) is used in the Christian sense, or whether some supplication to heathen deities is meant. Mamaeaepoto lived into the Christian period.

10. Here is a sting. Ostensibly the meaning is that when affairs are all settled in the country and it is easy for all the leading men to go away on an excursion of pleasure, then "we shall go away with you on a trip." Secondarily, there is the sense that "we shall pick nice calm weather for a chap like you, who is not much of a man." Mamaeaepoto retorts that the day was a good sailing day, and secondarily, that there were not difficulties anywhere in the country that necessitated his staying.

11. Although these lines have been taken as the pretext and consolatory remarks made to Mamaeaepoto when he was left behind, it is quite possible to understand them as perfectly sincere remarks addressed by Mamaeaepoto to his companions in misfortune.

[533] 12. The word *fasi* (song, tune), stands in the margin of my copy of the poem in several places, apparently a direction for the performance of the piece. It stands opposite the lines which have *e* at the end. It is difficult to say what, precisely, is intended. Perhaps the bard recited the greater part of the poem, and a chorus joined in on the lines indicated.

13. Fusi is probably the name of a man; Fusi-momoho is the name of a boat.

[534] 14. Drums were carried on canoes, and beaten as they left, or drew near to, land, and also at other times to cheer and encourage the crews.

Pages 71-72. A poem of Falepapalangi

1. Two copies of the text have been used, and the text presented here is a little longer than either.

[361] 2. The "new boat" is a poem, or a festival, performed in Hahake, the great seat of chiefly residence. It seems that Falepapalangi was defeated, or criticised, by his rival; he replies that his composition, whose theme was the Pale, a headland in Vavau, was composed hurriedly, without much time for polishing, as the bard tossed it off in the fervor of inspiration, using the breeze of inspiration while it was blowing.

[136] [137] 3. *Telae* is a little fish that springs along on the rocks, making its way back to the sea when disturbed. The *siale* is a weak and unaggressive shrub, whose blooms fade soon after they are picked. The tropic bird cannot rise when fallen.

4. "A strife of strong fish" is proverbial for a contest of those who are strong and well-matched (17, No. 211).

5. The eminence to which the rival has attained by his victory is likened to his going up and surveying the scene from the headland of Tave in Eua.

6. This reminder that modesty is becoming may be a literal statement that the rival is not skillful at sea, as well as the figurative assertion that in the craft of the bard he has not all the gifts.

[824] 8. *Uhiuhi* is the name of a plant.

[538] 9. A very bold and effective metaphor. "Possessed" is used in the sense of demonic possession, sick.

10. Veuki is the name of Falepapalangi's compound.

[103] 11. Literally, "Wearier, wearer out, of day and night." Instead of "contest," some word such as "song" might be supplied. It is possible that he refers to some scornful question in the rival's poem as to who this Falepapalangi is.

[195] 12. In Tongan speech, especially in ceremonial speech in the presence of chiefs, it is very common to guard oneself when about to mention something that perhaps it is not polite to speak about.

[524] 13. This metaphor relates to the game of *lafo*. The position supposed is that his opponent's last throw is in scoring position, nearest to the edge of the *lafo*, also near the mat. This is the poem which has been successful. Falepapalangi has a piece of his own standing just near this. Falepapalangi is now throwing his last piece, the present poem. He will not try the shot that drives straight through, knocking the opponent's scoring piece off the mat; that would disturb his own piece, but, by taking advantage of the raised edge, or cushion, of the mat, he will come around and knock his opponent's piece off and score with two pieces of his own.

11. By *ma* (we) Tukulua indicates himself and one other, possibly a sweetheart. It is possible that in this regretful farewell to the happy activities of living men and women, he is thinking more particularly, though not exclusively, of the charms of women's company. *Tuula* (perch for birds) would seem more likely to be applied to women than to men; women are frequently called *lupe* (pigeon). For a possible reference underlying *tata anga lei* (place of carving ivory), see *lei mangamanga* (p. 130). 539 76 [763] [192]

12. By "games" (*tolo*) is meant the sport of dart-throwing, but possibly there is a covert allusion to love. [524]

13. The form of the phrase *tuma 'ae fuifui puleoto* (man, lad) of cluster of *puleoto* recalls the Hebrew "son of oil." The *puleoto* is a shell used for the necklaces of chiefs and is a valued ornament of chiefly virgins. To wear this shell is a mark of virginity, for if a girl who is not a virgin wears one suspended from her neck the shell will not lie properly upon her bosom, but will turn over. [237] [301] [836]

14. The *motelolo* is a tree. [824]

15. There are two musical directions in my manuscript copy. The word *fasi* apparently marks a part where those who sing the air come in, or perhaps sing alone, and the word *lautoka* is perhaps a direction to the base or seconds. The refrains that recur throughout the piece were probably sung by the full chorus. [533]

Page 79. On the death of the Tui Tonga

1. Langiehetupua is the name of Tui Tonga's burial vault. 539

2. The number of pigeons flying about in all the islands (*otu fonua*) was an omen of the King's death. 76

3. In the original Tongan text *mata 'o peka* is written as three words and would thus mean face (front) of *peka* (flying-fox), but the probability is that it should be taken here as a geographical name. It is possible that the phrase may mean the faces, appearance of the people of Peka (21). Veituna also appears to be a geographical name. Where these places are, or why they are mentioned, is not known. 643 [764] [763]

4. Malamaisaua (indistinctly written, and possibly Malamaisana, but Malamaisaua suits the rhyme and is in all likelihood correct) is probably a place name, perhaps the name of the late Tui Tonga's compound; but it may be one of the names of the King himself. [787] [825]

5. *'Otua* means god, spirit. This direct ascription of deity to the king descended from the Lords of Heaven may perhaps be made easier by the fact that he is dead and has returned (or is about to return?) to the land of immortals, but it seems preferable to regard it as a statement of what the Tui Tonga, the Sacred King, actually was in his status as a king, both king of mortals and a god, probably pre-eminently the god so far as men were concerned. [776]

6. Screen (*tatau*). A screen (*kolo*) is sometimes put around the bodies of chiefs during the burial ceremony in the cemetery and, for the very great chiefs, also in the house in which the body lay before being taken to the cemetery. Inside this screen only the *haa tufunga* (compare Maori *tohunga* and cognates in other dialects), members of the family group to whom belonged funerary arrangements, were allowed to enter. [764]

7. Alaivahamamao, probably a *matapule* of the dead king.

8. "Midrib of the coconut leaflet" signifies the dead king. He is so called because flowers and leaves are strung on the midrib, and the name signifies him who was the center of festival for which garlands and necklaces were prepared; him to whom most of all were brought objects of pleasure and delight. [192]

9. Manono and Fualu are names of localities in Tonga. It is possible that Manono is indicated. The statement has been made in Tonga that there is tradition that the pigeon came from Samoa to Tonga. Perhaps the most likely interpretation is that the pigeon of Manono and Fualu is the dead King, though it is possible that this is the beginning of an address to the women of Manono and Fualu, calling on them to mourn. The loss of the next five lines makes it impossible to decide. [103]

10. At the end of the mutilated line is *evalu*, translated "eight," but of course there is nothing to show that the syllables are not, for example, the end of a name.

11. The use of the word *afio* (reign) does not mean that the king will be king of Pulotu, for Hikuleo is ruler there; but the word *afio* is used of the Tui Tonga and has a wide range of application. It is the word used of the king's being, presence, in any place. The lines mean little more than that he will be in Pulotu, Pulotutuumau (Pulotu stand fast). If Watkin (38) is correct in thinking that the Tongans divided [775] [192]

It is supposed that a shark thus treated is sure to be taken by the same boat on a subsequent 539 occasion.

20. The words *Ho he,* laughter, indicate that the audience will enjoy his composition. [226] This is explained as the noise of blowing on hot food, good, hot food to be thoroughly enjoyed.

Page 116. Falaolongo

1. The Tongan text of this poem is headed "Sipa oe Meetaki." The word *sipa* 539 seems more properly to be applied to a dance, or to a dance and its song, but evidently here it is used of the song as *meetaki* is one of the dances. The name Mulikihaamea also 533 appears in the heading. The best known man of this name is the chief who was [192] Tui Kanokupolu for a few weeks or days after the assassination of Tukuaho in 1799, and fell in the fighting of that troubled time. What connection he has with the [643] piece is not clear. Perhaps it was first performed before him. Perhaps Mulikihaamea is the name of the bard who composed the piece, and not that of the king. Some of the places mentioned have not been identified; but probably the poem deals almost exclusively with localities in Tongatabu and its neighbor Eua.

2. Falaolongo (Mat of Longo) is probably a slight elevation, natural or artificial, [103] named after Longo, a noted warrior of Holonga, in eastern Tongatabu. A son of Longo was taken to the Tui Tonga, and grew into big boyhood in the entourage of the king, then ran away and returned to his father. This son's name was Kailahi, after whom the cave mentioned was named.

3. The ninth Tui Kanokupolu, about 1780, bore the name Tuihalafatai. The [643] naming of trees is common.

4. The translation reads as though the sighing were that of the wind in the toa tree; but the line might be taken separately from the preceding line, as referring to the murmuring of the sea at Avataliapi.

5. Huafaikitama translated "meadow," may well "be a pool gleaming upward on the shore-flats." In the absence of information as to whether Huafaikitama is a pool on the coast, or a bright patch of verdure or clump of trees in the midst of grass land, it is impossible to say whether *toafa* is shore flats or meadow (downs).

6. Vailahi (Great water), one of the larger bodies of inland water in Tonga [133] is indicated, perhaps the crater lake in Tofua, Haapai, or that of Niuafoou. It is thrown in among mention of places in Tongatabu and Eua, the inference being that the poet has lost his way, has suddenly wandered far afield.

7. Veingangana (Falling water), Vaitakiafale (Led water of house), two [103] streams on the weather coast of Eua. These streams *fekumi,* that is, they seek one another while hidden from one another, or they alternately appear and disappear in the forest. Vaitakiafale is an artificial channel leading off from the stream of which [312] Veingangana is part. It was constructed by a chief who wished to bring the supply of water to his house. It is said, however, that *fale* may not indicate the house of the chief, but an overhanging rock under which the water flows.

8. "Wind from the north," would seem to indicate that the bard had wandered away from places in Tongatabu in the south, but that he now returns thither. Some 533 of the places mentioned, for example Meitumu, are known in Vavau. But it seems best to consider all of the places as in Tongatabu and Eua, with the exception of 539 Vailahi, and understand him as meaning that the wind of his muse is from the north 103 throughout. Names frequently occur in more than one part of the group.

9. Veiatavake (Pool of the tropic bird) is the name of a pool in Eua, in a cave called Faleotaupoou (Virgin's house), where water drips down from stalactites.

10. Veitoto (Pool of blood) is apparently so called because it gleams red in the rays of the rising sun. It is in a cave in Eua, fed by a small stream which runs out of the pool and on the sea. The "dripping water blown about" is the water of this streamlet where it runs out to the coast, and is exposed to the wind.

11. Lokupo, a beach in Eua.

12. The *fatai* is a creeper with scented flowers used in garlands (*Cassytha* [824] *filiformis?*).

13. Fotumoko is near Fatumu, in eastern Tongatabu.

14. Sacred Coast (Liku Tapu) a portion of the weather-coast of eastern Tongatabu, sacred because of its proximity to the district where the Tui Tonga and his great chiefs lived. Laulea, near Fatumu, which is mentioned further along in the

533 poem, is in the same region. It is a beach famous as a place for riding the breakers, where the chiefs of eastern Tongatabu enjoyed this sport.

539 15. Vai Aku, may be translated "My pool," and it is quite possible that the bard
103 (Mulikihaamea himself?) refers to a pool named after himself.

16. This possibly is the name of some locality.

17. Huangalau is perhaps the name of a bonito fishing reef. If this be correct the "good report" would be, not of beauty, but of fruitfulness as a fishing place.

18. A conjectural translation is made of "*fili talai.*" A variant *filitai,* is unintelligible to me.

19. Fakqulunafa is in eastern Tongatabu; and doubtless Valekatoua is there also.

Pages 116-117. A song of fishers

533 1. This piece was probably performed by a line of women, either standing or
sitting, with perhaps a line of men behind them. Actions of the hands would repre-
539 sent the various phases and actions of the chase.

1a. The time indicated is December to January (Liha Mua).

2. Tefisi, an important and widely distributed Polynesian name. There are
[551] numerous occurrences of the name throughout every part of Tonga, with which are
associated chiefs of all the great houses, Tui Tonga, Tui Haatakalaua, and Tui Kanokupolu (21).

[103] 3. Fasia, a beach on the islet of Nukunukumotu.

4. Tofoa; a reef near Fasia. Halakakala; a fishing ground near the island of
[103] Eueiki.

5. Faiana is a cave at the bottom of a steep cliff in Eua. The other names are
[103] not identified, but are doubtless names of fishing grounds, tracts of the sea, points of
land, or the like. Taane (spelling uncertain, Taane, Tane) may possibly be a hint
[776] that the great god Tane, so important in some parts of Polynesia, but of whom nothing
is to be heard in Tonga, was not always unknown in this group. (See 34.)

6. The word *lau matangi* means wind-reckoner, that is, sea captain.

[276] 7. When a great chief comes ashore from a voyage the head sailor (*toutai*)
distributes the kava at the first ceremonial kava-drinking.

[127] 8. This translation is purely conjectural. It is not unlikely that the text is
corrupt.

9. In taking *mana* to mean thunder there is of course the implication that the thunder is *mana,* omen, sign, for the fishing expedition.

533 10. Holaavaki, a beach in Eueiki.

539 11. Matafota, the sea near Halakakala.

103 12. Vainoa is probably a name of a stretch of sea, but possibly it is just descriptive of the place where the fishers row about, an open waste of sea.

13. Hopohoponga, the name of a stretch of sea.

14. In Nimafuaatu the division of words is uncertain, but taken together they are probably the name of a stretch of sea. Taken as an expression, *nima-fua-uta* describes accurately the method of carrying the bonito, *atu.* When the *atu* is taken to a chief it is *fua,* carried on the shoulder, not *takitaki,* carried in the hand. "Into the shallow," indicates that the pursuit is driving the fish inshore.

15. Peauapuaka is unidentified, but is conjectured to be a place in the sea. The suggestion is made that it may be the name of a place where the fishermen frequently cease from their sport, and get together to eat. The remains of the food, among which would be pig, are thrown into the sea; hence Wave-of-pig.

16. Late is of frequent occurrence as a place name. Houma Late is a headland on the eastern coast.

533 17. Tama and Upeupe are names of fishermen.

539

Pages 117. A song of fishers

[551] 1. In the Tongan text this piece is headed Sinaitakala i Langileka, Tui Tonga
Fefine. Several of the known Tui Tonga Fefine are named Sinaitakala, being distin-
533 guished, as here, by some addition to the name. The descriptive "i Langileka" was
added probably after the death of this Sinaitakala, and indicates the royal vault in
539 which she is buried. It is still the custom to speak of deceased kings according to
their place of burial. Sinaitakala i Langileka was the daughter of Telea, the twenty-
643 ninth Tui Tonga, who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century. She and

her brother Fatafehi, who succeeded his father as Tui Tonga, were children of Telea and Mataukipa, who was the granddaughter of a Tui Tonga. The placing of her name at the head of the poem does not mean that she had anything to do with the composition of it; nor that she is the subject of it. Apparently the bard has named his composition and the dance for which it was sung after this great lady. Another piece in the collection from which this is taken is associated with her name. Probably both pieces and others were sung to the one dance for this piece is much shorter than the song which accompanies the average dance, and it is not unlikely that this and the preceding poem were performed together. The first was concerned with bonito fishing, and this with fishing for *valu* by trailing a hook astern of the canoe. The line, now-a-days at least, is fifty or more yards long. 533 539 [643] [535] [226]

2. Telekivavau and Telekitonga are a remote little group of uninhabited islets, at the southeast extremity of Haapai. [103]

3. Fetokopunga and Lalona, islets in Haapai. [103]

4. The division of the word Tatohofa is uncertain; it is taken, probably correctly, as one word, the name of a boat. [552]

5. One of the nights of the Tonga month. The phases of the moon were carefully observed by the fisherman, as some days, or nights, were *aho ika*, fish days, that is, favorable days for the catching of fish. The *aho ika* seem to have varied for different localities, or chiefs, which is much the same thing, and fish. A complete list of *aho ika* would furnish doubtless an interesting contribution to the study of lucky and holy days; but it is doubtful if it is possible for such a list to be recovered from the memory of living Tongans. The phase of the moon *uluaki ahoia* would seem to be one of the *aho ika* for the *valu*. I have translated *uluaki* literally as first; but as a matter of fact is seems that the first of these phases of the moon is called *feahoaki*. 533 539 226 821

6. Matafau, Houmatau, reefs; Fonuaika, an island in Haapai. 533

7. The "little fish" (*mafua*) are the smaller fish which serve as food for the bigger fish, the *valu*, whose pursuit is the subject of the poem. There is frequent mention of the *mafua*, sometimes with the name of some particular fish. The fishermen direct their course by the appearance of the shoals of smaller fish on which the *valu*, and other large fish, feed. 539 [103] [825]

8. Nonuku, an island; Naa, unidentified, but clearly the name of an island, a reef or a tract of sea. [103]

9. The *ulukau* is a small fish. In this reference a shoal of *ulukau* are the *mafua*. [825]

10. For the remarkable regularity of the appearance of the palolo, the well-known sea-annelid, *Palolo viridis* (32; 6, pp. 135-36). [825]

11. Auhangamea, the sea between the islands of Uiha and Uoleva, in Haapai—a good trawling ground. [103]

12. The fishermen see a shoal of small fish, but on approaching them find that they are *memea*, a fish which the big fish will not eat, so it is useless to go on in that direction. [825]

13. The *ulua* is a large fish. The names *lupolupo*, *memea*, *lupo*, and *tafauli ulua* are said to be used of successive stages of growth of the same species of fish. [825]

14. The *manua* is the name of a night noted by bonito fishers; at that time the moon is past the full. [821]

15. The text reads *ko toamotua;* the emendation *ki Toamotua* is the conjecture of the best informed of living Tongans, but Toamotua is not identified. [226]

16. A hopeful fishing ground is indicated; big fish are there seeking *mafua*. The original text reads *vahi ni*, which is not intelligible; *vaha ni* is merely a conjecture.

17. Luahoko and Ofolanga are islands in Haapai. [103]

18. After the ill success indicated, the fishermen are about to give up, but remember Puke and Faleovalu, spaces of sea within the Haapai group, and go there to try their luck. The last line is extremely terse, and means the fishermen are returning home well satisfied, having caught so many and such big fish that the hook is broken.

Pages 117-118. A praise of beaches

1. The banyan tree is the one under which Captain Cook addressed a great gathering of Tongans. Since that time it has been popularly called Captain Cook's 533 539 535 823 552

7

533 tree; but its Tongan name is Malumalu o Fulilangi (Shade of Fulilangi). It is not
539 known who is the Fulilangi thus distinguished, but the name was not uncommon among
the Tui Pelehake, and has also been borne by other chiefs.
538 2. Leolava (Many voices) is probably so-called because people from many parts,
823 including other countries, for example Fiji and Samoa, congregated here in the
entourage of the Tui Tonga.
[552] 3. The town that is pleasing (*kolo fakalata*) is Mua, the Tui Tonga's capital,
scene of many pleasures.
[103] 4. Kolongahau is a stone wharf near the old-time residence of the Tui Haatakalaua.
There is also reclamation work here, undertaken when the place became the
[644] residence of the Tui Haatakalaua.
5. The word *sunufea ui* is unintelligible. Probably it is the corruption of a
[504] foreign word, not unlikely the English fern. In the last stanza of the poem the line
[192] about the wind from the north includes the word *fea-uini* (fair-wind).
6. "Smooth white sand" is a conjectural translation of *fala-sina*, white mat. The
[192] word *fala*, mat, is often used of smooth sward or sand, and *hina*, not *sina*, is the usual
Tongan form of this word.

533 Page 118. A song of fragrant flowers

1. Nua or Lotonua is a place name. There is a locality called Nua in Mua,
539 the chief village of eastern Tongatabu, and the old seat of the Tui Tonga.
2. The names *tuitui*, *lavalava*, *nusipalataha*, and *lalaheilala* are of various types
824 of leaf and flower ornaments for the neck and bosom. The generic name is *kahoa*.
[103] These, and other flower and leaf ornaments are *kakala* (sweet-smelling things).
3. Other types of flower ornaments are *fakaotusia*, *alamea*, and *fakalotu*;
fakaotusia and *alamea* apparently are decorations for arms and ankles (*vesa*).

4. The *langakali* is a flower.

5. "Sleep in sea-water:" the flowers and leaves of a plant are sprinkled with sea-water, and left all night (*faka-mohe*) and thus their full fragrance is brought out. At night the fragrant flowers are placed underneath the wooden pillow, and so sweet are the scents that they "distract the mind."

6. The double plaiting round the top of the sisi leaf girdle is called *funganiua*, the bottom one *laloni*, and the flower *hingano* is twined into it.

7. Types of plaiting of the leaf and flower ornaments are termed *veevee*, *tuituivao*, *paangapulupaki*, and *fakamatamoana*.

8. To plait blossoms together without stringing on anything is called *koko*.

9. Ribbon, of the inner bark of the iau is called *lou*.

[103] 10. Latai, a pool on the reef, near Laulea, the famous surfriding place on the
weather coast of eastern Tongatabu.

11. The "town of faded garlands" (*kolo ngatuvai*) is Mua, whither at the time of festivals are brought so many garlands, which finally, are thrown aside and fade.

533 Page 119. Malokula.
539 1. Tonga, meaning Tongatabu.
2. Leaf of *pua* (the King, George Tupou I).
[527] 3. An enterprise large enough to collect sufficient money.

[434] Page 119. Laughter of women

1. This probably may be considered as a love poem, at least in part. Direct
[538] expressions of love and passion are extremely rare in Tongan compositions. The
references to sport, fishing, pigeon-snaring, and surf-riding are partly literal and
partly figurative of the pursuit of love, and throughout is the sense of the pleasantness of woman's companionship.
[103] 2. Finehika is a locality in Mua.
3. The *moonia* and the *tinatila* are plants, *tinatila* is said to be like a passion-
[824] flower. Probably both are late introductions.
4. Fuaahoia is the nickname of a chief.
[551] 5. Fakimamana; locality in Mua.
6. Namalata; place name in Eua (?).
533 7. Holaavaka; beach in Eua (?).
539 8. Mohekaelanga; place probably in Eua.
9. Utulongoaa, the rocky coast of eastern Tongatabu.
103

Pages 119-120. If there be a stranger 533

1. This line is the refrain, sung after every line. 539

2. Haapuopuai, a pool on shore near Mua.

3. Talilaki, a difficult opening in the reef passed through in going by sea from Nukualofa to Mua. [103]

4. Nukufeheaki; unidentified in this locality, is probably an islet. [103]

5. The *mohokoi*, a tree with sweet-smelling flowers; is apparently that known to Europeans as ylang-ylang (*Canonga odorata*). [103]

6. Apparently a woman is represented as the speaker, addressing a lover who has come over the sea, and must return to the land whence he came. Oil is given by women. [824]

7. Vaiola and Hunibush are nicknames apparently of chiefs and lovers of the speaker's own land. She would have given the stranger oil and garlands, but these other two have prevented her, at least from giving as much as she had intended. [551]

8. Halaleva is a road near Nukualofa, famed for the plentifulness of its fragrant plants and flowers. The women of this favored spot scent themselves by placing leaves in the *kona*, the fold of the *vala* at the waist. [103] [302]

9. The names mentioned in this passage are all of localities. [103]

10. The *faonelua* is a species of *Pandanus*, very rare and highly valued. One of these trees stands in Mua, and is commonly reported to be the only one in Tonga. [824]

11. Lapaha, a part of Mua. [103]

12. The reference is to *fungasiua*, the *sisi*, leaf girdle and skirt, with a double row (*fungani*) of plaiting entwined with flowers, at the top. [291]

13. At Mua festivals and garlands are so common that the fragrant *sisi* is the girdle even of commoners. [291]

14. The green in Mua, Feingakotone, is where the festivals and sporting contests (*kotone*) of the Tui Tonga were held. It is not so much a name as a descriptive title of this place, *feinga* meaning doing-place, place where a thing is done. The word is much like the English Sports Ground. [368] [192]

15. Folaosioeiki, a place name. [103]

16. This line is not clear. Provisionally I have taken Takuimalae as the name of a *malae*, but taku, or *takui*, may be a tree standing on a green (*malae*).

17. Takuilau, Ahofakasiu, and Fepaki are place names; Tangitangi is probably a place name also, though the word means opening of the buds, and it is possible that the line should read, "Takuilau with opening flowers." [103]

Page 121-125. Chanties

1. "Carried astern," going astern, may mean that the chanty was sung while the canoe was going astern, or the reference may allude to something in the form of the chanty itself. The composer says that he should be rewarded with sweet-smelling garlands (*pipitongi* and *loloheo*), or that the chanty itself is pleasant like these fragrant things. For a different interpretation see Gifford (21, p. 17). [502]

2. Keitahi and Falefilimoto are localities on the weather shore of Vavau. [103]

3. The sites of Tuniloa and Tele are not identified. Both names are listed by Gifford; but not as of natural features suitable to this contest. The lookout place (*matanga*) is a commanding position whence a good view of sea or land can be obtained. The same word is used of a thing seen, a notable object; and also of the spectators at a festival. [103] [192]

4. Fangmofuike (Beach of earthquake) is a beach in Vavau, evidently where the women resort to bathe and dress their hair with lime. This is unlikely a reference to any particular woman, but a general description of what happens at this beach. [103]

5. These verses appear to be rather an ungallant address to a lady, intimating that she must look elsewhere for a lover.

6. Valefanau is a locality near Kolovai, the principal village of Hihifo. Iloituunga is probably the name of a place in the same neighborhood. [103]

7. This is an old chanty, still used in dragging sleds on which large presentations of food are placed (*toko umu*). The *pekipaki* is a sea creature popularly called blue-bottle. The singer likens himself to sea creatures able to outlast the rigors and hardships of the sea. The term *fiuanga* here means one who contends with and overcomes sea, cold, and wind. [483] [825]

533 539 8. The text implies, "People on this side and on that boast of what they can do, but one is as little able as another to give effect to his vaunt. No improvement in spite of all the talk."

9. The reference in these lines is not clear. There was a temple at Ahau, in eastern Tongatabu, and possibly the couplet celebrates the numbers of people who used to resort thither. I have never heard of women disappointed in their hopes of motherhood seeking the aid of the gods.

[824] [461] 10. The *two* is one sort of fine yam. The verse is applied in several ways. It is used as an admonition to the old and feeble that their active working days are over and that now cooking a little food is all the labor they are fit for. It is used as a reproach to the young and idle; that they come and work that they may eat, only old folk sitting quietly at home. It is also a reprimand to presumptuous inexperience, "If you would have these fine yams to cook and eat you must have the skill in gardening that years of experience give."

11. Plaint of the "willing horse," getting all the burdens and none of the appreciation.

[103] 12. Meilongopee (Breadfruit almost falling through overripeness) is the name of a rock near the entrance to the anchorage of the main village, also named Haano, on this island. Another prominent rock in the same anchorage is called Feleunga.

13. A plaint against the sea and its moods.

[103] 14. Telekitonga; the southernmost islet of the lonely group Otu Tolu at the southern extremity of Haapai. The northernmost of these islets is called Telekivavau.

[821] 15. Hina, the moon.

16. Toloa (Wild Duck) the constellation of the Southern Cross.

[821] [103] 17. Muitoa; a cape in the island of Haano, Haapai, at the farther extremity of that island from Foa; also an island in Haapai. The chant is composed from the point of view of one living in an island south from both of these, probably Lifuka, the political head of the Haapai group. The sarcasm is at the expense of one who can not get to the near island of Foa, but aspires to reach Muitoa, at the far end of a more distant island. It is intended as serviceable advice to those whose schemes and aspirations are constantly overlooking the fulfilment of the duty next at hand.

[483] [651] 18. This verse was chanted as the presentations of food were being dragged on to the *malae* at the ceremony of Inasi. (See 28, vol. 2, p. 170.)

19. Kalau is an islet off Eua. At one time, tradition has it, it was farther from Eua, but the god Unga (Crab) who is referred to as having left his shell, moved Kalau closer to Eua, and Kiu, Plover, objected to the removal, and flew along early in the morning to stop it.

20. The poem Taufaahau is perhaps hardly to be considered as a *tauaalo* (chanty), though part of it may have been so used. It is perhaps only a fragment of a long poem.

[103] 21. Haafeva and Kotu, islands in the western portion of Haapai. Their "island-like pleasantness, or security" may be that they are at a distance from the center of disturbance.

[103] 533 539 643 669 22. Fanganonu is a beach in Lifuka. The lines are attributed to Taufaahau, during his wars before he became Tui Kanokupolu, and supreme head of the entire Tongan group. He was preparing to go to Tonga and Eua to obtain firearms, or cannon, from Kaufana of Eua. Velata, the site of a fortress in Lifuka, Haapai, which may still be seen, was the scene of famous actions in this conflict. The war was already assuming the character of a struggle of the adherents of the older religion and policy against Christianity. In this phase of the struggle, centering in Velata, the heathen party was rallying round the Tui Tonga, who was perhaps present in person. This war is difficult to date; but from the Journal of the Reverend James Watkin (38, pp. 89, 103) it is evident that there were wars and rumors of wars in 1832 and 1833. At the conclusion of hostilities the victorious Taufaahau put the vanquished chiefs, possibly including the Tui Tonga, in canoes, and told them not to land again within the Tongan islands; but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungi, took them ashore at Lapaha. Although Taufaahau finally overthrew the power of the Tui Tonga, yet he is said to have been punctilious in observing the etiquette proper to him and his chiefs in his intercourse with them. During the fighting in Velata, Taufaahau was wounded. It is said that this is the only occasion on which he was wounded in battle. So great an impression has the wounding of this great warrior

made on the native mind that a living Tongan, a very capable sailor and pastor of 533
the Wesleyan Church, is still pointed out as the grandson of the man who performed 539
the feat.

23. Laulea; a beach in eastern Tongatabu, suitable for surf-riding. 643

24. Anamanu and other localities mentioned are all in Vavau.

25. Kap, the high volcanic cone in the western extremity of Haapai; Lofia, the 669
crater lake in the companion island Tofua.

26. Kafoa, a hill in Vavau. Aloitalau, the crest of the hill Talau in Vavau. 533

27. I have not identified the *esi o* Koloakimaha, but it is probably one of the 539
numerous peaks on the beautiful uplands of Eua. 103

28. The *maile* is a creeping plant.

29. The *pua* is a tree with sweet-scented flowers. In *I le vao, le* is the Samoan, 533
not the Tongan, article.

30. "When one champion falls another steps forward to take his place." This 539
first line has passed into proverbial use. [824]

31. The word *tui* (pierce) is used of all piercing weapons; toa, of which clubs
were made, is used of all striking weapons. The second line is an encouragement, or [824]
incitement, to rush into battle whilst the army is still up to its full numbers. Num-
bers 29 and 30 are war chants formerly sung in the taunting which preceded the [192]
general engagement. [726]

32. The word *toho* means pull, and *io*, yes; *a mai* may possibly mean, wake up,
that is, be lively at the work. The meaning of *amatu* is not known. The word
amatoi is sometimes used instead of *amatu*, with the responses *loi* or *lioi*. [192]

33. The localities named are all in Eua. Tava is the northeastern headland of
that island; Matalave, a stream near by; Koloutukape, a fortress where a warrior [103]
defeated his foes by digging holes, and covering them with leaves of kape (*Arum costatum*) and then inciting the enemy to run over them.

34. The *puke* is the decking at the stern and bow of a canoe. Those who sit
there take no part in the work. This chanty represents men sitting in the *puke* [501]
and resting, and then in turn taking their part in the work, and one after another
returning "badly" to the deck to rest. Why "badly" is not clear.

Page 125. Present day love songs

1. The ideas *huni* and *kulukona* (two fragrant plants) are here used to denote the absent sweetheart.

2. The name *langakali* (a sweet smelling flower) is of course used of the sweetheart. Portions of the last two lines are missing from my copy, and evidently a line is lost from the end of the second stanza.

3. The plant names *kuku-valu, hingano, huni,* and *siale-tafa* and white rose are [824]
all applied to the girl.

613. Luki aka fai ki Fiji: Challenging Fiji to a kicking match. 539

Used of an immoderate boast or challenge. Fiji is a country far from 829
Tonga, and its inhabitants are numerous. To challenge Fiji, therefore, is 648
doubly an immoderate boast. To reach the scene of action is no mean task, and when the initial difficulty of navigation is overcome one's hands will be more than full with so many antagonists.

614. Matakai ngalo oua e kau ai: Don't count a forgotten *matakai*. 539 524

This refers primarily to the game of *fiji*, or flipping, which consists in flipping one by one a bundle of small light sticks from the bottom of an inverted basket, or some such stand, across which they are laid. The *matakai* in this instance are the sticks. When a player has successfully flipped all the sticks (not so easy by the way as it looks) he says, "no forgotten sticks are to count," thus saving himself from all penalty should any be found to have dropped down and been overlooked. The expression comes to be a sort of general forestalling of the effects of any sins of omission

615. Tua ka matakai pipiki: A chap to stick to the matakai.

The *matakai* is the object with which the game of *liaki*, and other games, were played. This phrase refers to the game of *liaki*, in which one player held a small object such as an orange seed between two fingers, clenching the fist. The man who held the *matakai* put his clenched fists out in front of him while his opponent, without touching him, tried to make him laugh or squirm and drop the *matakai*. A man who was invulnerable to all the attacks made on his nerves or risibility was able to keep his fists tight shut and hold the *matakai*. Applied to one who is adept at sticking [157]
to things, who keeps a firm hold on his property, and also applied to one who keeps his own counsel.

DANCING

616. Haka i langi tau: Dancing to suitable music. 539

Where the music is good and rhythmic the dancing will be easy and 535
attractive, a fit vehicle of rejoicing and calculated to cause pleasure to the 533
beholders. Strictly the word *langi* seems to denote rather the line or group of singers than the music itself. This phrase, written as one word, is freely used in the sense of joy, rejoicing.

617. Malanga i faiva: Getting up during dance.

The word *faiva* is not confined to dances but is applied also to games 539
and sports and generally to any employment requiring skill. The idea of 535
this phrase is that of a man who should go, say, to a dance, not as a 183
performer but simply as a spectator; but who during the dance is moved [524]
to get up and join in, though he has not practised for the occasion. He [526]
stands there in all his unpractised awkwardness among those who have perfected themselves in the movements. A useful warning for extemporaneous speakers. [537]

often divert themselves; viz, shooting rats, I became, 175
after a time, almost as dextrous as the natives. To 224
provide for this sport, they take out the kernel of 565
the cocoa-nut, which being burned and chewed,
the servants are sent to strew it in places near the
road, in fences, and in hollow trees. Meanwhile [525]
the chiefs, with bows and arrows, take their station
near, and making a squeaking noise exactly like
the rats, these animals soon come out to feed upon
the nuts, when the chiefs, ranged in order each for
his turn, shoot at them for a wager; he that kills
the most, in the same number of shots, wins the
game.

They are a very active people, yet they often 175
spend whole days, when they have no particular 517
employment, in luxurious indolence. These days [461]
they generally close in dancing and singing; of [535]
which they are peculiarly fond. [533]

The chief will send round the district, and collect 175
together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of 535
both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light [373]
of tomais, or torches, formed, as we before showed, [416]
from the unctuous bark of the cocoa-tree. [824]

These dances are very beautiful. Young women
of the most graceful figure and comely features assemble [301]
on these occasions, their dark ringlets bespangled [824]
with aromatic flowers of a peculiar whiteness,
their necks and shoulders encircled with
wreaths of variegated flowers, tastefully strung to-

175 gether like beads, their graceful limbs covered only
535 with a thin drapery, and in some cases, only shaded
[301] with an entwined garland of gee-leaves.

[524] Their dances are very much diversified, and performed with admirable grace and uniformity, by companies of eighty or a hundred, who all move together with the greatest exactness. I never saw soldiers go through their evolutions with more prompt regularity than these companies time the diversified motions that compose their dances.

They seem in their element, when dancing: such is the ease, pleasure, grace and activity which they exhibit, in every intricate part of this favourite amusement.

175 Their musick is not so pleasing. The principal
533 instrument is a kind of drum, formed out of a log
of wood, hollowed through with a long small aperture,
175 and laid lengthways upon two pieces of
534 wood. This is beaten whilst eight or ten bamboees,
of different lengths, with pieces of wood fastened
and bound to the end of them, are struck
against the barrel, and produce a sound according to
175 the length of the stick. Of these drums they have
533 two or three; which, with the bambooes and the
[534] singing, make a little rough concert. Their songs are
beautiful and melodious; partaking more of a lively
175 than a plantive air, but rather monotonous. These
535 dances are often performed in particular spots where
there are large trees. To these places the young

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old alike have simplv flopped down on the soft matted floor and fallen soundly asleep.

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Swift twilight, then darkness, closes round the village. The women potter round the houses attending to a few evening tasks before they follow the children to sleep. The men bathe and dress in cool, clean shirts and *vala*. Then they sit out of doors talking to friends or else, led by the rhythmic beating of stone on stone as *kava* is crushed, they find their way to a nearby house where a *kava*-circle is being formed. The night drifts by as they drink and talk, talk and drink. And the stars are already low in the sky when the circle breaks up. The men quietly make their way home. A baby stirs in a nightmare sleep or a dog barks excitedly at passing shadows. But, for a short time at least, the village is at rest waiting in suspense for another day to bring its hot sun and its round of common tasks.

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The tempo of village activity is speeded up before the week of Christmas and New Year. Two days before Christmas we made the following notes:

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(534)

> There is a slowly-developing crescendo of excitement in the village as Christmas Day approaches. Every night for the past week the youths and maidens of the village have been practising until past midnight the songs that they are newly composing to sing about the village on Christmas Day. Those more talented who also possess some musical instrument are equally busy in tearing to shreds the quietness of a village evening. They have grouped themselves together in what is politely called a "string band." The noise that comes down wind suggests that this "band" consists of a number of reedy mouth organs, a lone guitar, and a violin with two of its three strings missing.

(412)

> For all the people the working-day starts very early. This morning at four a.m. for instance, the woman in the house nearest us was busy cutting the long grass about her house with the huge three-foot bush-knife that serves the villager for all purposes from a lawn-mower to nail cutter or razor. All four of her children, the oldest under six, frolicked joyfully about her, pursued by her anguished screams as they forgetfully frisked within danger distance of the swift-cutting knife.

(356)

> Equally industrious, the men have been going to their bush plantations at dawn and returning just before dusk with heavy loads of food. The women have put in long days washing clothes, cutting grass and sweeping up all the rubbish of months from their house sections. Everything must be neat and tidy for Christmas week.

585 eat. Most of the party then returned to Pangai, but the
[574] bride and groom, chaperoned by Fa stayed in Toula until
evening. At this time, this second group returned to Pangai
together with the remainder of the bride's family. Mele,
[292] the bride, was wearing her ceremonial skirt, the rest of the
party carrying the sleeping outfit *(mohenga)* which is her
gift to her husband. This outfit consisted of two sleeping-
[513] mats, two small coverings of bark cloth, two pillows and a
[556] basket in which her ceremonial skirt will be kept (this
outfit, incidentally, is rather poor; a wealthier commoner
[565] girl would have at least twelve sleeping-mats in her outfit as
well as many fathoms of bark cloth).

In Pangai the wedding party met at Semisi's house (the
585 mother's brother of the groom). Tui's wife, Eniketi, brought
574 a small piece of bark cloth suitable for a skirt. This she
276 placed round the bride's waist after removing the one the
bride was already wearing. Semisi had meanwhile prepared
a feast. It consisted of four large yams, four giant *taro*,
and a small pig. While the food was cooking, a *kava*-circle
was formed. It consisted of four women including the bride
and eleven men, all relatives of the bride and groom. The
groom Paula, pounded the root while the woman Loise made
the *kava*. The cups of *kava* were called by the groom's
mother's mother's sister's son. When the *kava* was finished,
the oven was opened and all went outside to eat. This was
about nine o'clock in the evening.

More *kava* was served inside the house. There was
[533] singing and solo-dancing by the bride's younger sister until
[535] two o'clock in the morning. When she finished dancing, the
younger sister was given a small bark-cloth skirt by Eniketi.
At this time all the *kava* was finished and the bride's group
585 returned to their own village of Toula. Tui and his wife
slept at one end of the house while the bride and groom
833 slept at the other end of the house. There was no inter-
course on this night nor for the four following nights (five
nights in all). Intercourse with a virgin is termed *fai hono
api*, " to make or cultivate a plantation " (the more general
term for intercourse being *unoho*)—an obvious reference
to a metaphorical planting of seed in the woman—and in
village theorizing, a groom shows his respect and affection
for his bride by waiting five nights or six or longer for his

764 The village undertaker is usually in charge of the corpse
767 at the grave. He is called to the house only if expert
services are required in laying out the body. If, for instance,
there were complications in the death, or if the mouth or
nose began to bleed, then the expert would be called in to
arrange everything in a decent manner.

764 The grave has been dug by relatives during the night.
Other relatives have been at work before dawn preparing
[602] the oven for the funeral feast. The food continues to cook
while the body is being interred. When the corpse reaches
the cemetery, it is lowered into the grave. The undertaker
[767] gets into the grave also and arranges the mats and bark
cloth round the body. He puts a large stone on top of the
body to anchor it to the grave. Then he climbs out and the
[533] grave is filled in. There is singing and praying while this is
[782] being done. Finally the village overseer stands on the grave
and makes a brief statement in which he urges the mourners
[644] to still their grief. He also announces the arrangements
for the funeral feast and *kava*-drinking.

764 A *kava*-circle is formed on an open space near to the
mourners' house. The village overseer is invited to preside.
276 On his left hand sits the undertaker and on his right sits the
574 man who acts as attendant chief *(matapule)* to the village
767 overseer. As the *kava* is being made, the ovens are opened.
Then when the *kava* is clear and ready for drinking, the
624 undertaker orders the food to be displayed. If special
565 formality is desired, five stalks of sugar-cane are brought
644 forward at this time. One stalk is placed before the overseer, two before the undertaker, and two before the attendant
chief. The undertaker and the attendant each break their
stalks into a sufficient number of pieces so that there is one
piece for each of the men of the *kava* circle. This sugar cane
[784] then constitutes the *kava*-relish *(fono ae kava)*.[24] It is *tapu*
to smoke tobacco at any time during this funeral celebration.

764 The *kava* is now served. The undertaker receives the
276 first cup. He pours the *kava* from the cup handed him into
574 a special *tapu* cup that he carries with him. The other

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767 [24] It is common today in the village for the *fahu* to take the *kava*-relish presented to his mother's brother, a custom which Gifford notes
[178] (*Tongan Society*, p. 24) as "anciently not extensively practised among commoners."

276 *kava* is a mild diuretic. Villagers have plenty of opportunity
751 to notice this effect of *kava* even if they are unclear as to any
precise cause and effect relationship between this effect and
alleged better health. One reason incidentally, that the
(514) villager gives for the rule that the *kava*-making girl should
not herself drink is that it would be unseemly for her in the
eyes of the men to leave the house frequently to urinate.

276 The topics that are discussed in the ordinary *kava*-circle
574 are endless in their repetitive rehashing. The state of the
cultivations, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange
521 ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages
far and near, actions of government representatives from
policemen to high officials, chance remarks heard from
passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine
and dogma, dreams and strange events— all these and many
other topics are considered from every possible angle and
(888) point of view. The older men carry on the discussion while
the younger sit quietly and listen. Sometimes the discussion
will be spirited with many taking part. At other times it
will die down to muttered conversations between one or two
men with others dozing or preoccupied with their own
thoughts or busily rolling banana leaf cigarettes from the
strong and pungent Tongan tobacco. A pause in conversation
comes while a fresh round of *kava* is being made. Then
discussion gathers new strength. And so it goes for hours
on end, sinking and rising according to the spirits of the
participants and the lateness of the hour. Younger men of
the village obtain from these *kava*-discussions the elements
of a liberal education both in the arts and in the crafts of
village life. Sometimes the group will spend part of an
(533) evening singing. The songs may be either church-hymns or
ancient chants.

276 *Kava* is a mild narcotic. Excessive drinking often
leads to what can well be termed mild cases of drug-
933 addiction. Seven men and one woman are considered in the
village to be extremely heavy drinkers whose continual
desire for *kava* is in the nature of an obsession. Other men
drink heavily at odd times, but not continuously. The results
of addiction, according to informants, are personal laziness,
physical weakness and domestic trouble. Night after night
spent drinking *kava* is likely to leave the addict lazy and

dressed with all her signal flags, cast off amid deafening 798
cheers from the shore party, and as she swung out into the 167
stream she fired a salute. As the echoes of the last shot [533]
died away, the voices of the exiles were heard singing "Home, Sweet Home," in their own language, taking well-sustained parts; and they continued singing until we passed through the white line of reef-breakers, and the figures on shore had melted away in a cloud of white draperies. We had cast off our nationality, and were now Tongans.

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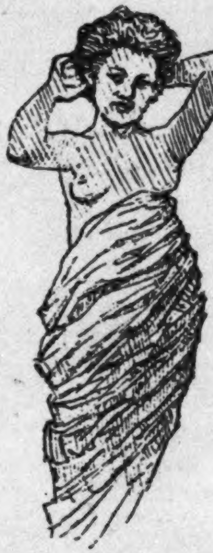

One of the Exiles.

Our fellow-passengers spent their first day at sea in holding religious services, and in fussing about their luggage. These exiles for conscience' sake had already reaped the reward of their constancy—an earthly reward in the form of mats, native cloth, kava-bowls, and all things that are most precious to the native heart. They numbered more than 120, and had left their homes almost naked. They went back with eighty tons of luggage—far more than they could possibly have accumulated in three years had they remained in their own country. Persecution had not been unprofitable.

A grey fuzzy line just above the horizon, gradually resolving itself into cocoanut-palms—such was our first
sight of Tongatabu. We steamed along the south-east [133]
coast, the Liku, watching the surf spout up in a hundred

source of amusement for the first few days. On week- 877
days they were taught shorthand and the higher mathe- 873
matics by native tutors in cap and gown; in the evenings 533
they sang incessantly in excellently sustained parts. 212 863
On Saturday they turned out with knives and baskets to 796
clean up the College premises; and on Sunday they all 291
put on trousers and mortar-boards, and were marched off
two and two to church, carrying their shoes in their
hands. At the church-door the whole sixty pairs halted
to put on their boots, and enter the house of God with
dignity. They formed a magnificent choir of bass voices, 533
and rendered the trashy Methodist hymns with a grandeur 796
that would have greatly surprised their composers.
During the sermon the sixth form were busy transcribing 212
the homily in shorthand.

796 ing nearly empty, but there was a look of eager expectancy on the faces of the few old people who lined the walls.
796 Then from without came the sound of singing in quartette,
533 in perfect tune, swelling in volume as the choir reached the door. They filed in, forming fours as they passed the

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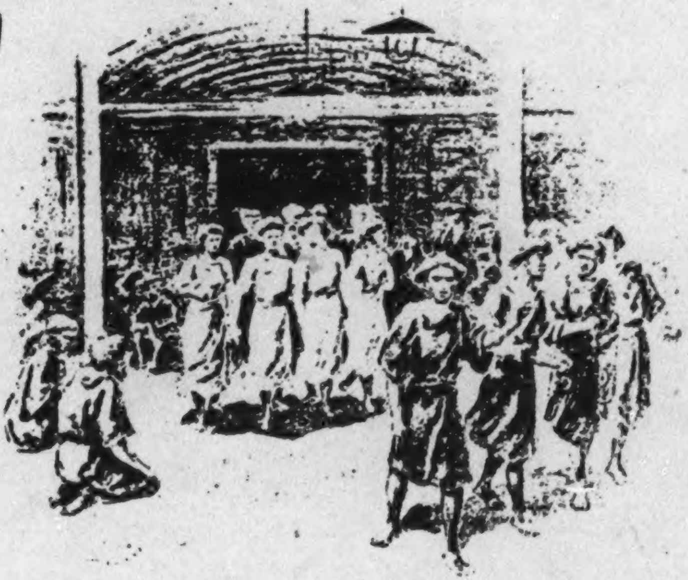


The first choir.

doorway, men and women alternately, holding one another's hands. At the end of each phrase they took a step forward, and when they reached the reed pulpit their song merged into another in the far distance. It was the second choir: as their voices soared upward the first band became silent and scattered to their places along the walls, amid the plaudits of the audience. So a second 796 choir filed in, and a third and fourth, until the church 533 was filled to overflowing. It was in reality a choral competition [621] between the different divisions of the town, the outcome of three weeks of practice under the direction of the composer. The native parson meanwhile took his [793] stand in the pulpit, and gave out a text, which was sung with fine effect by the combined choirs to a tune of native composition. An inspiriting address followed, 796 often interrupted by cries of applause. They were working up their enthusiasm for the real business of the evening.

After the sermon there was a long pause, during which the people looked furtively at one another. At last an old woman stood up, and the shouts of "*Fakafetai*" became deafening. "She is going to tell about her soul," whispered 781 my neighbour. Upon this interesting subject she 783 had a great deal to say in a monotonous flow of verbiage, drowned at times by the cries of "*Malo!*" I noticed, indeed, [195] throughout the evening that the women had a far greater command of language than the men. Before she had finished, two middle-aged men and a very villanous-looking policeman were on their feet. The first to rise caught the parson's eye, and gave us a very long and weary diagnosis of his spiritual symptoms. The second elder was jaunty, and gently chaffed his soul, exciting bursts of merriment by screwing up his eyes at the laughing places. Three or four others had now risen, and remained standing in penitent attitudes until their turn came. The criminal-looking policeman had his say first. With forced

646 pride of progress and the *odium theologicum*, are heartily
178 ashamed of their forefathers. Truly missionary enterprise has worked great changes.

646 The House was filled long before the appointed hour.
Tukuaho had issued invitations to most of the traders.
Native ladies of rank, and a few of the chiefs who held
no seat, were accommodated below the gangway: men
and women of every shade of colour filled the benches in
front of them. It is an anxious moment for the newly-appointed Sergeant-at-Arms, Kubu's brother, Kalauta, who
is charged with the duty of finding room for every one.
[565 645] The "Representatives of the People" (as the Constitution
calls them) are packed into the benches on the right side
of the House above the gangway; the Nobles on the left
behind the Treasury bench, where sit the Cabinet Ministers, headed by Goschen, who, in a naval frock-coat and
check trousers, gives a tone of elegance to the whole
[648 644] Ministry. The next front bench has with difficulty been
reserved for the suite of the High Commissioner, whose
British uniforms are thrown into shade by the magenta
satin gowns that clothe the portly forms of the Princesses
643 Charlotte and Anna Jane behind them. On the crimson
646 daïs is the king's gilt chair; and beside it the royal crown,
the heaviest in the world, reclines upon its cushion supported by a three-legged table. The crown was bought
by the late Premier from some merchants in Sydney, and,
but for the verdigris in the flutings, might very well pass
for gold.

[533] The suspense is broken at last by the rattle of saluting
arms, and the blare of the Tongan National Anthem.
Kalauta shouts "*Koe Tu'i!*" and we all rise as the king

643 father, did not read well. The Speech consisted of the
646 usual Ministerial platitudes, congratulations upon "our
cordial relations with the other Powers," and promises for
the future. The allusion to the past was very brief. He,
the king, gave thanks to God that these clouds were happily
dispersed, and left it to the Legislature to provide for
the future by revising all the laws and regulating finance.
[177] Convinced that their efforts in pursuit of civilisation
[829] would not be crowned with complete success until they
[875] mastered another language besides their own, and that
[759] national prosperity could not be assured unless the population
ceased to decrease, he had provided them with a
schoolmaster for their minds and a doctor for their bodies.
In conclusion, he commended them to God, and trusted
that there would be no more dissension between the
Churches—the expectation which, in the present temper
of the missionaries, is, of all those contained in the Royal
Speech, the least likely to be realised. The king interrupted
the Speech twice, telling the reader impatiently
to speak up.

It had been intended to unveil a picture of the king,
but almost before Taufaahau had articulated the closing
words, his Majesty rose and strode out as he had come,
with the air of a man who has loyally discharged an irksome
[533] duty. The band dash recklessly into the triumphal
march from Tannhäuser, struggle awhile, and arrive breathless
at the end within a bar or two of one another.

646 The senators streamed away to their quarters at Pangai
574 to disrobe; the guests strolled home to doff their finery.
The morning had been devoted to propriety; pleasure was
now to have its turn. In half an hour not a black coat

is, moreover, held in awe by the Commons, for "Tungi 646
ne montre jamais le fond du sac," as one of the French
priests said of him. He is followed by Mr W——, the 646
Pontifex Maximus of Tonga, clad in decent black, and 793
wearing an expression of deprecating piety. He is to [465]
earn to-day his stipend as Royal Chaplain, an item that
has received the anxious atten- [142]
tion of the Cabinet, to whom [791]
a retrenchment of £100 a-year [802]
is of importance. He gives out [533]
a hymn, the member for Vavau,
who forms the choir, bellows the
tune, while the rest follow him
two octaves lower pianissimo.
The House shades its eyes with
its hand, while the prelate wres-
tles in prayer and discreetly
withdraws. There is a pause.
Then Mataka, the chief clerk 646
(who, by the way, is still sup-
posed to be undergoing imprison-
ment for flirting with the fair
Lobase), calls the roll. The new
members are now to take the
oath. The ceremony is imposing 646
until the turn of the two Roman Catholic members 795
arrives. They object to be sworn upon the Protestant 798
Bible, and a clerk runs in haste for a version of the Bible 779
translated into Tongan by the Roman Catholics. He
returns with a thick shiny-covered book, which the two
members kiss cheerfully. I examined it afterwards, and 646

The clerk of the Parliament.

Tongan chief, stripped of his wealth and influence by his 186
new-fangled communism, secretly envies the authority 829
which his Fijian neighbour has been too wise to surrender: 648
the Fijian chief, though full of contempt for the leaning towards foreign customs that has reduced the Tongan chief to poverty, tries hard to imitate his air of superior refinement. The Tongan chief likes nothing better than to be entertained by a great chief in Fiji, and feel again vicariously the glories of his lost estate, and eat *taro*, and hear the murmur of running water, both luxuries unknown in his own dry country. The Fijian loves to have such guests, and show them off to his neighbours as proof of the wide range of his influence. So each reflects glory on the other. They are ridiculously shy of one
another. While Tukuaho was paying a visit to me in 186
Auckland, Ratu Lala, the Tui Thakau, came from Fiji 829
to make a tour through the Australian colonies. The 648
two chiefs, on the ground of their relationship through 123
a common ancestress, were very anxious to meet, and they both besought me to bring about the introduction.
Tukuaho spoke excellent Fijian, and Ratu Lala is no [191]
less fluent in Tongan, but to my astonishment I found that I was expected to act as interpreter between them. Their conversation was complimentary and formal. Tukuaho reminded his Fijian relative of the romantic legend that connected their families. Ratu Lala pressed him to make the bond closer by paying him a visit. They were both so painfully shy that even this stilted conversation would have been impossible unless I had stayed to interpret their languages to each other.

I have spoken already of the music and poetry of the 533
538

531 present day. As in most primitive countries, both words
538 and music are the work of the same hand. The modern
177 music has adopted the harmonies and cadence of the European compositions which the composers have heard, but it retains a distinctly native character, widely different though it is from the form of the ancient melodies. The songs are all sung in four-part chorus without accom-
538 paniment. The poetry is uninteresting in that it generally treats of scenery and flowers, seldom of the drama of life, never of the drama of love.

538 Of traditionary poetry little remains. The admirable
173 efforts of the Rev. J. E. Moulton came too late to rescue the stores of legendary lore that passed away with the advent of Christianity, but the purely historical traditions that have been rescued, and which form the basis for the early history of the people, may be relied upon as having
000 been correctly handed down. I had a curious instance of the durability of tradition. While conducting the native newspaper in Fiji, I took some trouble to collect and preserve the fragments of historical poetry that were still remembered, and invited contributions from the whole native community. At the same time I sent to press some fragments that were published in a missionary book about 1860. Among the contributions received in response to my appeal was a poem of the murder of Koroitamana (*circa* 1825). It had been gathered from the mouth of a very old woman of Bau. My native sub-editor recognised it as being the same as one of the fragments from the missionary book, and brought me the printer's proof. Here, then, was an opportunity of comparing versions of the same poem taken thirty-three years

APPENDIX

TONGAN MUSIC

533 535 THE music of the Tongans was inseparable from
the dance (by which I mean the rhythmic
movements of any part of the body), and it therefore
esteemed rhythm before melody or harmony. There
were two principal forms, the *Mé'e-tu'u-baki* (dance
standing up with paddles) and the *Otuhaka* (song, with
[177] gestures). Since the inculcation of English hymn-singing
a third form, known as the *Lakalaka*, which
is music composed by Tongans on the European model,
has been introduced, and of this the Tongans are
inordinately fond. Fortunately the taste of the older
chiefs and the influence of the French missionaries have
been strong enough to preserve the old forms intact,
and both the *Mé'e-tu'u-baki* and the *Otuhaka* are given
on ceremonial occasions, though their ultimate decay is
certain.

The specimens of Polynesian music that have found
533 their way into the text-books are, from Mariner downward,
nearly all inaccurate. Written down by untrained
musicians, they have afterwards been "faked"
to bring them into line with our notation, and (infamy
of infamies) harmonised! The visit of a composer

with time on his hands and a patient determination to 533 record the native music faithfully, at any sacrifice of time and temper, was an opportunity not to be neglected. Soon after our arrival, therefore, we paid a visit to Mua, where the old music is most cultivated, and invited the people to entertain us with the *Lakalaka*, for we had naval officers with us, and the *Otuhaka* is strong meat for the uninitiated. At the close of the 126 performance I sent for the leader, Finease (which is Phineas), and unfolded my proposal, which was that, for value to be received, he and a select band of musicians of the old school should come to Nukualofa and sing without ceasing until they had yielded up their treasures to the paper. Plainly they thought it a fatuous proceeding, but they consented lightly, not knowing what lay before them.

Three mornings later we were at work in the huge wooden shed which serves Dr. Maclennan as operating-room and hospital. At the further end lay two patients who had undergone serious operations on the previous afternoon; what they thought of our proceedings I do not know, but I could make a shrewd guess from the expression of the old ladies who were nursing them. Amherst Webber sat at a deal table littered with music-paper, with Phineas and three middle-aged ladies, all noted singers, sitting in a row on the floor before him. He wore a harassed air, for it soon transpired that the ladies, thinking that they knew better than he did what he wanted, were bent on running through their *répertoire* without *encore*. When I explained that they would have to sing each phrase, not twice, but perhaps forty times over, they were at first amused and afterwards distinctly bored. Webber found it impossible to take [533]

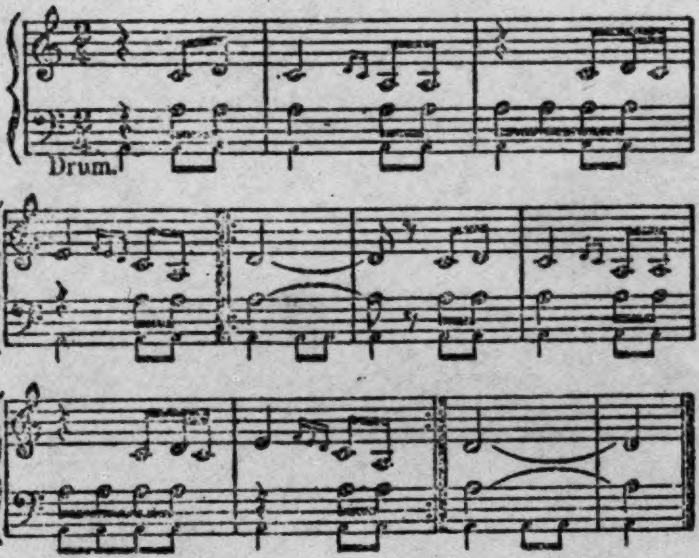
126 the music down phrase by phrase, because they were
533 incapable of picking up the melody where they had left
it; the only way was to make them begin each time at
the beginning, and carry the score a few notes further
with every repetition. Moreover, it was discovered that
Phineas seldom sang the same phrase in exactly the
same notes, for the melody is overlaid with innumerable
turns and ornaments at the will of the singer, and these
126 are impossible to represent in our notation. Two hours
at a time being as much as writer or singer could stand
with safety, the work took several days, but, thanks to
the good sense of Phineas and the patience of Webber,
a valuable collection was ultimately made. For the
notes I am, of course, indebted to Amherst Webber.

I. THE "ME'E-TU'U-BAKI."

535 A good drawing of this dance is to be found in
534 *Cook's Voyages*, and, as Mariner also has described it, I
need say no more than that it is performed by men,
drawn up in one line or two, who perform certain slow
and stately evolutions, accompanying the music by
twirling a light wooden instrument carved in the shape
[533] of a paddle. The rhythm is set by three large wooden
drums, and a number of men sitting round them sing
the words, which consist generally of a single phrase,
533 endlessly reiterated. Unlike the *Otuhaka*, the *Me'e-tu'u-baki*
is not contrapuntal, and, though a number of
voices maintain one note while the others sing the
melody, it may be said to be sung in unison. To the
European ear, despite its marked character, it is indescribably
monotonous, for the words have no meaning,
and the phrase is repeated for twenty minutes at a

stretch, without any variation except an occasional 533 *crescendo*. The native, however, regarding it as a mere accompaniment, concentrates his attention on the dance, which, though also monotonous to our eyes, is full of ancient grace and dignity to his.

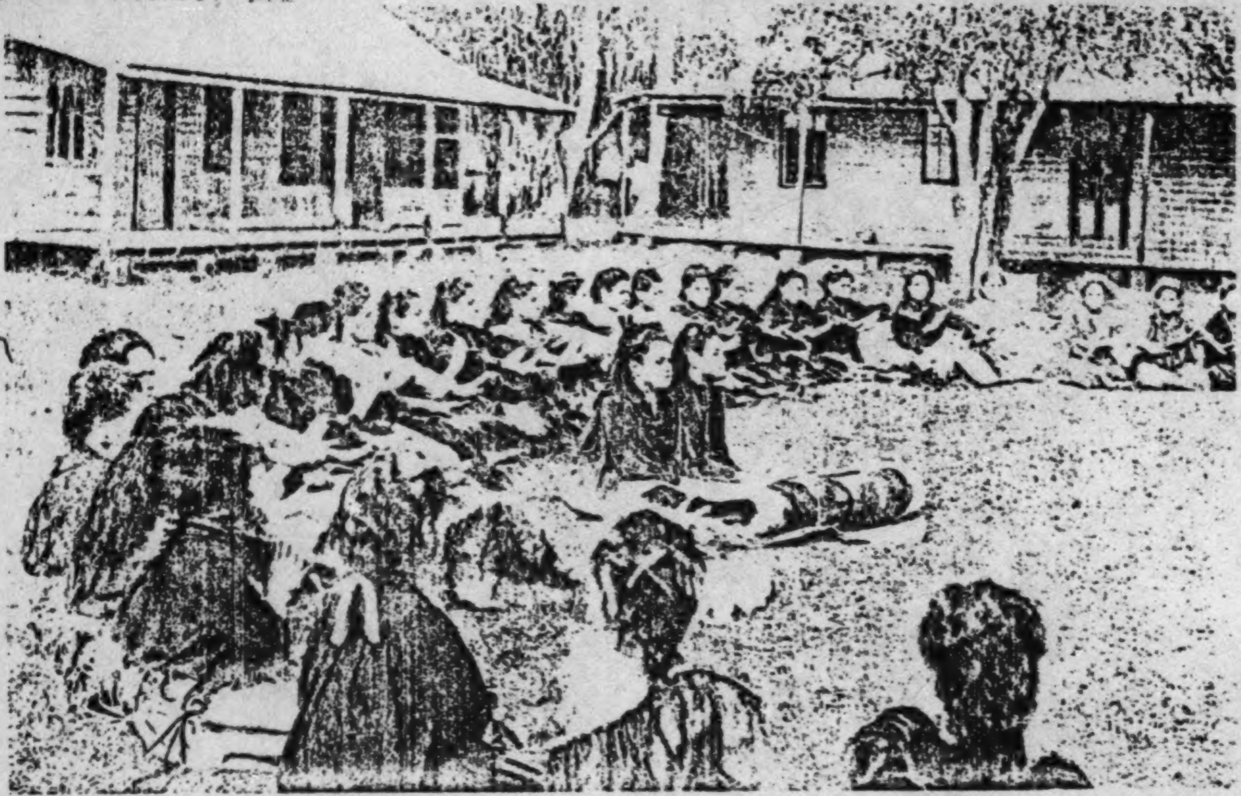
MEE-TUU-BAKI.



2. THE "OTUHAKA."

Though it may be performed standing, the singers of the *Otuhaka* generally sit in a single line, loaded with garlands and anointed with scented oil. The feature [535] of the performance is the *haka*, or gesture-dance, for though the performers may be sitting, it is still a dance.

[Facing p.222]



From a photograph by THE OTUHAKA *J. Martin, Auckland*

The two drummers sit in the middle of the semicircle

To face page 222

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15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902 OU9 Tonga OU9

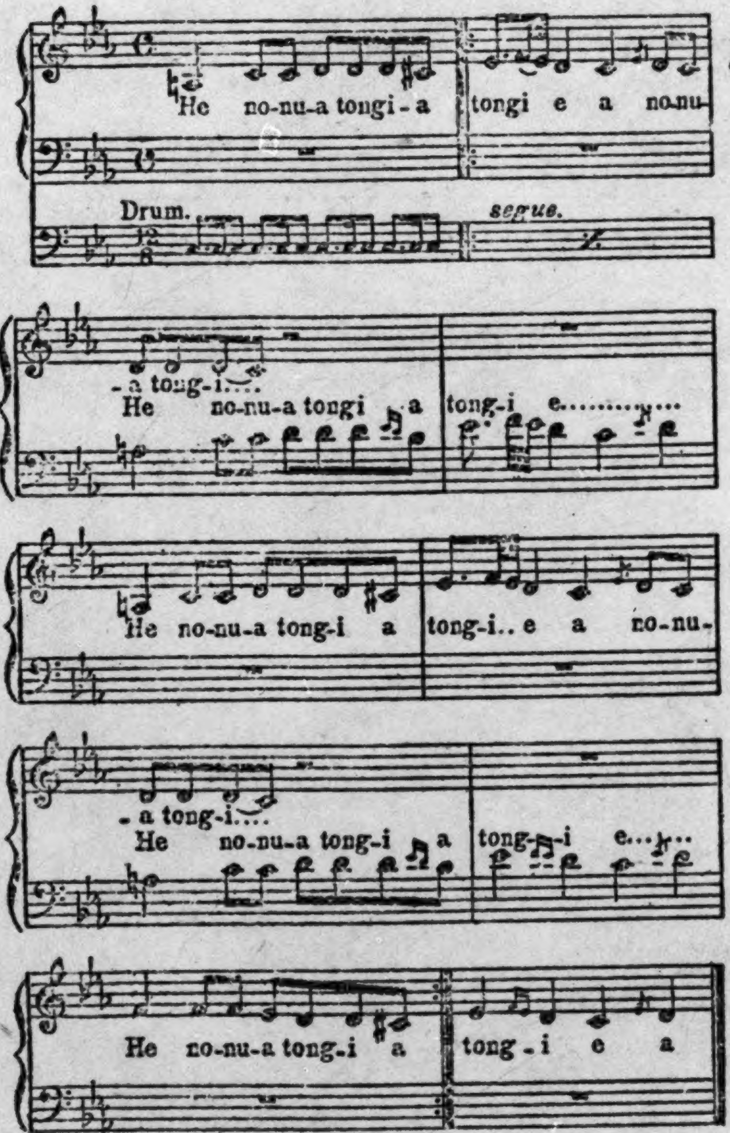
533 Head, eyes, arms, fingers, knees, and even toes all have
535 their part, and the precision of the gestures is extraordinary. The talent may be said to be born in every Tongan, for you may see little mites of eight years old shyly take their places at the end of the row and acquit themselves without a slip. The *Otuhaka* opens with a long and threatening solo on the drum, consisting of the same bar insistently repeated. After thirty bars or so the gesture dance begins in silence to the same monotonous accompaniment, until at last, when you have almost given up hope of anything more, the leader bursts into song, the rhythm of the drum never varying until it quickens up towards the end. All the performers sing; the leader takes the melody, and the chorus the second part, for the *Otuhaka*, which are generally of the same form, are always in two parts, and usually in rough canon. Here, too, there is an interminable repetition of the same theme until the leader gives the signal for a change by striking a higher note, and then the gestures change, the time quickens, and the chorus breaks into the *tali*, or coda, ending with a long-drawn note and a sudden dropping of the voice down the scale, like an organ when the bellows give out. The time is generally common or two-four, but in one of the examples given below the time is three-eight.

In reading these examples it is to be remembered that the leader loads his melody with turns and grace notes which are never quite the same, and which are impossible to write down, and further, that the final note always ends with the peculiar groan which I have described.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902

0U9 Tonga 0U9

OTUHAKA (1)


He no-nu-a tongi-a tongi e a no-nu-
Drum.
segue.
-a tong-i....
He no-nu-a tongi a tong-i e..............
He no-nu-a tong-i a tong-i.. e a no-nu-
-a tong-i....
He no-nu-a tong-i a tong-i e.......
He no-nu-a tong-i a tong-i e a

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[p. 223]

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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OTUHAKA (2) Koe Kolo Kakala.

● 533
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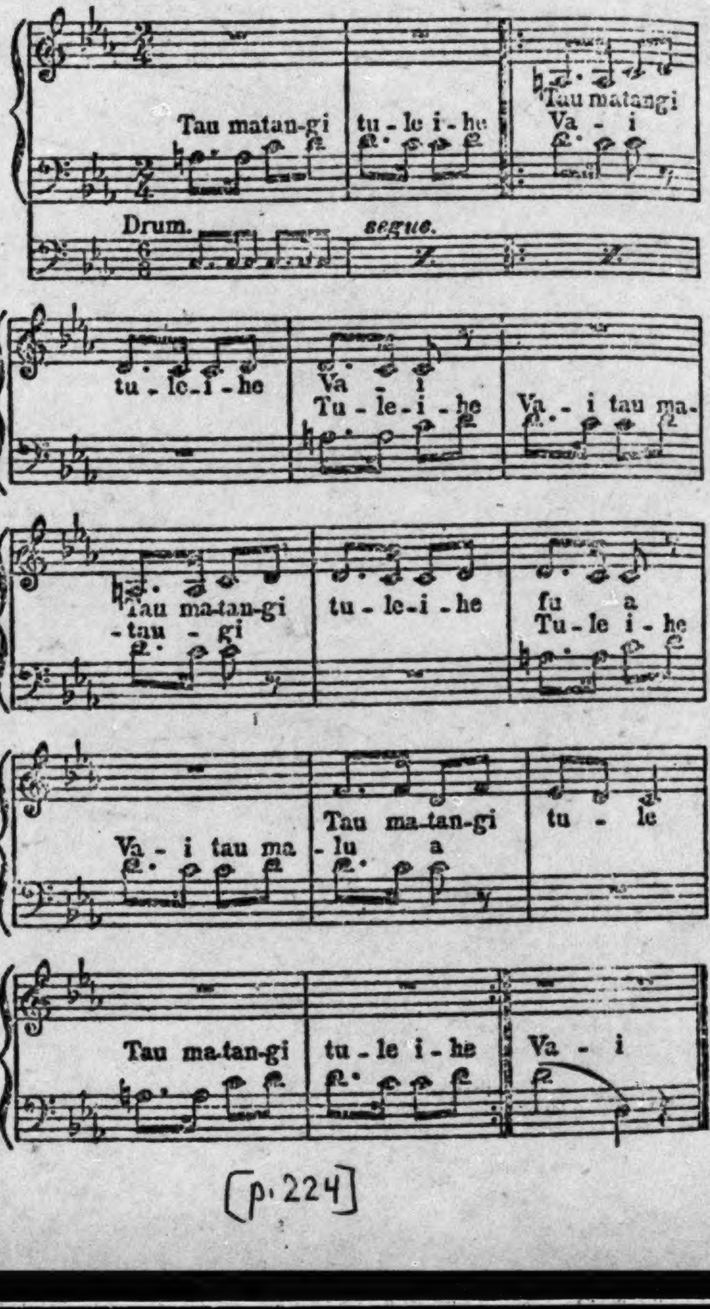
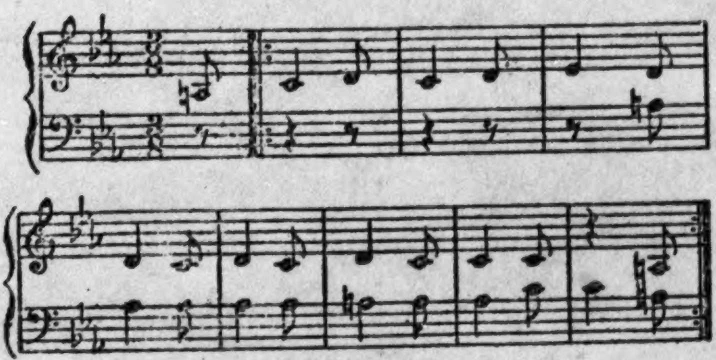

Tau matan-gi
tu - le i - he
Tau matangi
Va - i
Drum.
segue.
tu - le - i - he
Va - i
Tu - le - i - he
Va - i tau ma-
Tau ma-tan-gi
-tau - gi
tu - le - i - he
fu a
Tu - le i - he
Va - i tau ma
Tau ma-tan-gi
- lu a
tu - le
Tau ma-tan-gi
tu - le i - he
Va - i

[p.224]

OTUHAKA in three-eight time.



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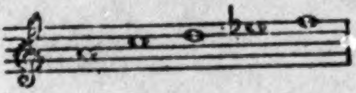
From these examples it will be seen that the old Tongan scale is limited to the following notes:—



In the absence of any indication of the chord, it would be incorrect to speak of tonic or dominant, but if we assume the key to be C minor, we may say that the Tongans have no fifth, nor leading note, and that they are not enamoured of the fourth. It is not that any of these intervals are abhorrent, for, as we shall presently see, they have taken very kindly to our notation in the *Lakalaka,* where a progression of consecutive fifths seems to afford them peculiar delight. The character of their music is contrapuntal and not harmonic, though in their church music they are intensely fond of the full chord. The intonation in singing is very nasal, and though the men were easily taught to correct this fault in singing European music, the women are incorrigible. The ex-

533 [576] The explanation offered to me by a native lady was that opening the mouth wide while singing swelled a disfiguring vein in the throat, but I suspect the real reason to be that which prompts them to conceal a yawn behind the hand—namely, that it is indelicate to expose the inside of the mouth to public gaze.

3. THE "LAKALAKA."

[177] The only interesting feature in the *Lakalaka* lies in the fact that it is music composed by natives under the influence of European music. It shows little talent or invention, and its more ambitious melodies and crude harmonies, however spirited the performance, pall quite as quickly as the *Otuhaka*, which has at least a weird and striking character of its own. The composer of the *Lakalaka* is at once poet and dancing-master as well as composer. When the afflatus is upon him he retires to the bush, and returns with words, music, and appropriate gestures complete in his head, and an hour's practice suffices to make all the boys and girls in his village perfect in their parts. Finease Fuji was one of these, and his reputation ensured a public performance to all his compositions. Those that become popular may endure for many years. *Langa fale kakola* (build a house of flowers), for example, which is given below, is as popular a favourite now as it was when I was in Mua in 1886. The themes are boating songs, odes to Nature and to flowers, or laments, but never love-songs. I remember one very pathetic lamentation of a poet named Tubou, whose theme was a term of six months' hard labour awarded him for flirting; it attained immense popularity on account of its pathos; indeed, I think that the pathetic *Lakalaka* are the most enduring. Love-songs are called *sipi*, and they are never sung in

public, being rather in the nature of sonnets to my 533
lady's eyebrow.

Like the *Otuhaka*, the *Lakalaka* is in two parts,
though the voices may divide into four parts in the
final chord. They are contrapuntal in form as well as 533
harmonic, and they are accompanied with the same 535
kind of gesture dance as the *Otuhaka*. The singers
may either sit or stand in one or two rows; if they
stand, the men go through a sort of dance, while the
women move their heads and arms without changing
their position. The difference between the two forms 533
lies in the scale, for the *Lakalaka* makes use of our
scale both major and minor, with the exception of the
leading note, which is generally omitted; the melody is
more sustained, and, no drum being used in accompaniment, the rhythm is less marked.

The European music which have been the foundation 533
of the *Lakalaka* are Wesleyan hymns, military band 177
marches, and Mozart's Twelfth Mass, which is very
well done by the students of the Wesleyan College.
Most of the educated natives can read very well in the
tonic sol-fa notation, and they have now begun to
compose a kind of choral anthem for themselves, which
is very much like the *Lakalaka* without the gestures.
They show a great aptitude for keeping their parts,
even in complicated counterpoint. That they have a
strong natural turn for music is certain; it is the exception to find a native without a voice and a correct
ear, and if they lack originality themselves, they have
at least a very quick appreciation. I have described
elsewhere* how the Grand March from Tännhauser
took them by storm when it was first performed, albeit
imperfectly, by the king's band.

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* *The Diversions of a Prime Minister.*

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902

OU9 Tonga OU9

LAKALAKA.

by FINEASE FUJI of MUA.

● 533
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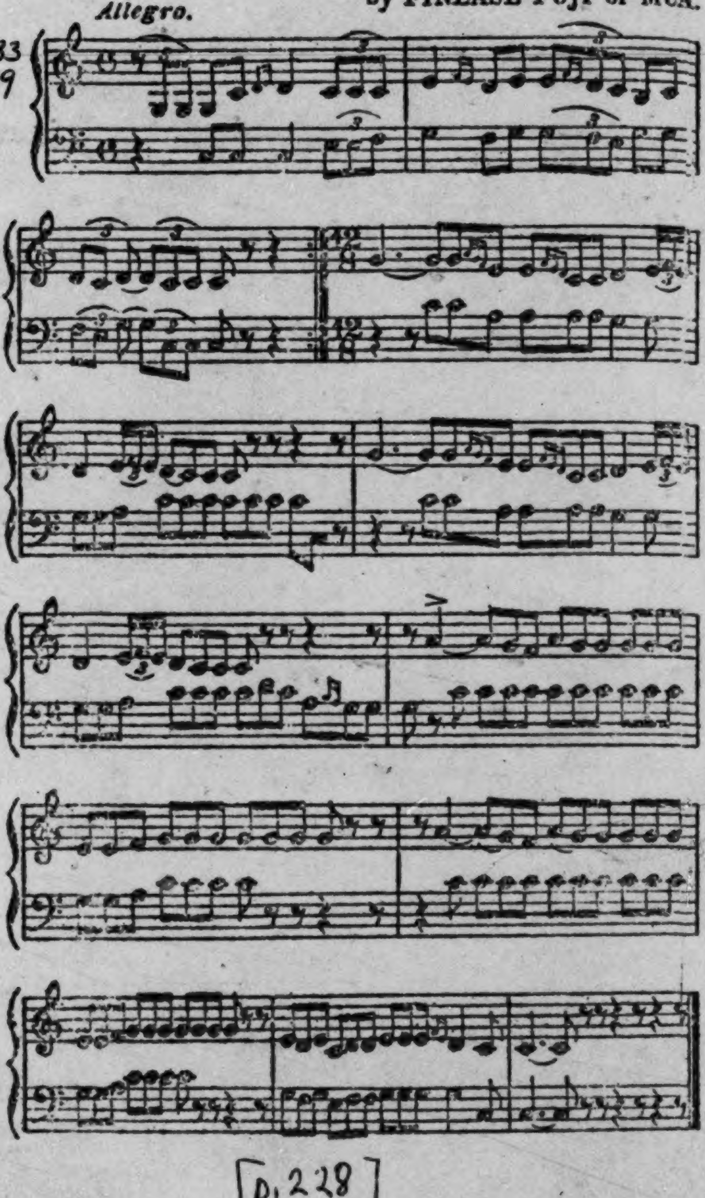

[p. 228]

[pp. 229 ff. not processed]

Fakafumaka, or Vakafuhu, is the god of the village of Kanokupolu, 643
already mentioned as giving his title to the Tui Kanokupolu. Formerly [776]
there stood here a tree beneath which the installation of the Tui
Kanokupolu took place. A piece of wood from this tree has been used
in the construction of the throne of the Tongan kings, being let in at 643
the back of the royal seat, a symbol of the tree which once stood at the 644
back of the Tui Kanokupolu during his installation ceremony. 824

The sacred animal of this god was a little shell-fish called the *fuhu*,
but there is an obscure statement that he appeared sometimes as a 776
man and sometimes as a rock. The appearance as a man is probably 825
his declaring himself through the priest, but the meaning of his being
a rock is not clear, though it is apparently closely connected with the [787]
fuhu. [793]

An old song is still extant describing the voyage of Faka-fumaka
and Tutula, accompanied by the goddess Fai or Fai-malie, to Bulotu. 776
Fai is the real heroine of the piece, and distinguished herself not only
by her coolness and good sense in the several difficulties and dangers 583
in which they were involved during the voyage, but also by her [192]
voracious appetite in Bulotu, whence arises a proverbial expression
meaning to lick the platter clean, which in Tongan is to "lick like
Fai." Tongans, however, have no cause to regret her greediness, for, 776
having swallowed a yam in Bulotu, she returned to Tonga and gave
birth to a root that has been the progenitor of all the yams in these [824]
islands.

Haele-feke, literally "the Octopus comes," or "Coming in the [825]
Octopus," is a god which appeared in the octopus (*feke*). He is also called
Tutula, already mentioned as the companion of Faimalie and Faka-
fumaka in their journey to Bulotu. Haele-feke is the god of Motua-
buaka (lit. Old Pig), an important *matabule* of the Tui Kanokupolu,
and of Kioa, the head of a younger branch of the same clan. The [262]
clans of Motua-buaka and Kioa, inhabiting a cluster of villages in the
western district of Tongatabu, refrained from eating the small octopus
which is a favourite delicacy of the majority of Tongans.

The octopus god used to appear ashore in a pool called Kanakana. 776
It is said that he changed into a lizard when travelling overland.
When an octopus appeared in this pool it was at once recognised as 825
the god, and the priestess immediately went and awaited him at the [823]
shrine, apparently a little raised platform, whither presently the people
resorted with bunches of coconuts and plaited coconut leaves and 776
earth. The priestess spoke as the octopus, and from words used by 793
an informant would seem to have imitated an octopus, presumably [825]
sprawling out in the manner of this ungainly creature. [787]

The people of this deity not only eschewed in their own diet the
flesh of the octopus, but they must not approach a place where he was 776
being eaten. If any transgressed the *tabu* he was afflicted with 784

[262]
[827]

There is a tradition that an early Tui Tofua was about to kill his 773
son in a fit of jealous anger, but the youth obtained his father's
permission to sail away with some of his people. When they got well 825
out to sea he told the crew to jump one by one into the water. As each man leapt into the sea he became a shark, of the more harmless variety called *anga*. The young chief himself was last, and he was turned into one of the great man-eating sharks called *tenifa*. A Samoan on board, not relishing the metamorphosis, refused to participate, and returned
and told the tale on shore. Since then the shark has been sacred (*tabu*) [784]
to the Tofua people, and must not be eaten by them, on account of the [262]
relationship subsisting between them. There is still extant a song [533]
referring to this exploit.

I have received a brief note regarding the gods of Nina Fo'ou, one 133
of the most distant islands of the Tongan Group, lying midway between Vavau and Samoa. This is a hilly, volcanic island, with a lake in an old crater in the middle. It has been the scene of volcanic outbreak within very recent years.

The note states that the gods of Nina Fo'ou were three in number, 776
namely Pig's Liver, the Octopus, and a large lump of Coral (*Bunga*).
Neither the pig's liver nor the octopus could be eaten by their 262
worshippers. Throughout Tonga the liver is a very special portion of [784]
the pig, and when on important occasions cooked food is presented to [565]
a chief the liver of a pig is taken and ceremoniously placed before him.
Bunga (Coral) is the name of the chief of eastern Tongatabu from 773
whom Motuku-vae-valu, the father of Muni, was hiding when his son discovered him. Bunga was overcome by that hero in a wrestling match. This Bunga was the possessor of two enormous *kava* plants, and of a white flying-fox from whose movements he read auguries.

When Nina Fo'ou became Christian the people threw their coral 798
god into the lake.

There are several gods mentioned by Mariner of which I have not 114
been able to get any independent account. Mariner was best 776
acquainted with Vavau, whereas the foregoing notes deal mainly with
Tongatabu. As a whole, however, the Tongan people fit into a frame- [101]
work which may be constructed in Tongatabu. The chieftainships of
the two northern groups have well understood relations with Tonga- 565
tabu, all deriving ultimately from the Tui Tonga. It is not clear what 634
was the first home of the Polynesians in the group, or what they found 643
on arrival. Tradition points to their having come from Samoa, a
conclusion which is supported by the general evidence of geographical 174
distribution, and to their first settlements having been in the southern part, though the farthest from Samoa, in Eua and Ata. It is not impossible, that these southern settlers may have been pre-Polynesian, and that the acclimatisation of Polynesian myths amongst them was

the choice of their partners. The young man anticipates the inter- 582
view with the lady's parents with much the same feelings of [622]
confidence or trepidation as animate the breast of his European
contemporary in like circumstances. It is not always the good will [602]
of the girl's own father that must be won, as his inclinations may often be overborne by his elder brothers, or by his sisters—the "brothers" and "sisters" may of course be cousins near or distant—who are his superiors in the family conclave. The chances are that the lovers' wishes will be met, but the young lady does not as a rule pine in the face of an adverse decision, and the disappointed swain is more likely to find comfort in the reflection that there are other pebbles on the beach, than to indulge gloomy musings upon the unkind fate that has stood between him and his soul-mate.

Occasionally head strong youth refuses to acquiesce in the 583
parental prohibition, and the lovers elope. If they are both of age the Government permit to marry cannot be withheld, the religious ceremony follows as a matter of course, and the happy, or almost happy, couple wait with a confidence, which experience usually shows to be well founded, that the resentment of their kin will be short-lived, and that, like the philosophers they are, they will accept the inevitable, and acknowledge the undutiful son and daughter by a performance of the proper nuptial rites.

The youth who goes a-courting is frequently moved to call the 584
muse to his aid, and to tell his adoration in "songs of sweet-scented 533
flowers," compositions which, though rather rough in form, display much poetic feeling both for love and some of the beauties of nature.

The old practice seems to have been for the matron's hair to be 302
cut differently from the maiden's. The virgin wore two long locks 884
at the back of the head, but at marriage these were cut off, and the 836
hair then allowed to grow an equal length all over the head. 585
Although marriage was marked by extensive ritual the bond was 586
easily terminable. No life-long guarantees were expected or given. Late in the eighteenth century one of the artisans in the party sent by the London Missionary Society to Tonga fell in love with a Tongan girl, and a date was fixed for the marriage. Previous to the ceremony the missionaries explained to the young lady the nature of the bond she was about to contract, but at the mention of a life-long union she promptly refused to go on with the matter. She was quite prepared for a union for as long as their mutual liking dictated, but would not be bound "till death do you part."

The great chiefs had numerous harems, but it cannot be inferred 595
that there was any degrading inferiority of women. The Tongan, 562
indeed, is justly proud of the position which his women-folk have always enjoyed. Genealogies show that great ladies frequently had many lovers. The system was free and easy, and the women fared

wanderlust as did the ancient double-boat. The old sea 484
chants of the Tongan seafarers are now largely replaced by 178
Christian hymns, but the essential idea of song in connection
with sea travel still remains.

Although the ancient sailing vessels of the Tongans 501
have all yielded before the European-type vessels, the small 177
dugout canoe with outrigger still remains in considerable 178
force.

The composition of poetry and its chanting or singing 538
by a chorus of singers is still a very popular pastime. The 533
composers turn out their product on quite short notice. On one occasion the writer attended a picnic after the examination of a great stone vault tomb. The bard in charge of the singers had composed and taught them a song that fitted the occasion and referred to the visit to the tomb on the top of a neighbouring island.

To a slight extent woman is appearing as the theme in 177
modern Tongan poems, thus in small measure usurping the 538
place held by the scenery. This seems to be the result of
English example. The brass band is in some degree crowding 177
out the native bard. Friday night band concerts by 533
native musicians are a regular thing in Nukualofa, the [545]
capital of Tonga.

The Tongan government doctors, all Caucasians, have 304
adopted a practice which conforms with the traditional 177
ideas of the natives. This practice is supercision, an operation
related to circumcision. When performed by a European [743]
doctor, instead of a native, the operation usually takes place at one of the government hospitals to which the patient returns periodically for treatment. The operation in Hebrew style (fakahebelu) is at times requested by the boys of to-day.

Telephones have recently been installed in Nukualofa, 206
and, though primarily for the use of European residents, 177
will doubtless in time become adjuncts of the homes of upper class Tongans. For some years past the Tongans in the capital have been reading daily wireless dispatches type-written in Tongan and posted at the post office.

Motion pictures have entered Tonga and become permanently 546
established in Nukualofa, where there are two [177]
theatres. The outward attitude of the Tongan audience
seems about the same as that of an audience in a small [571]

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

from rich, but it is free from the hardships of real poverty, the poisons of economic inequality, and the degradations of a proletariat. 434

On the cultural side the void created by the collapse of the old religious beliefs has been more than filled by Christianity and the missions have been tender of other aspects of Tongan culture. The traditional music and handicrafts have all been encouraged along with a pride in the past. New interests have been provided by church choirs, stringed instruments and brass bands, and by the introduction of European sports like cricket. Education in English, history and geography has opened up new intellectual horizons, even if rather slowly and to too limited an extent. 178 771 178 533 [186] [526] [871]

TONGA'S FUTURE

If left alone to work out their future the Tongans can face it with hope and confidence. Much can be done to develop agriculture and to add new branches to it. Progress in this field holds out the hope, not only of better diet, larger real incomes, and a lessened dependence on foreign trade, but also the prospect of new vocational interests to enrich village and family life. Co-operative societies to spread agricultural knowledge, to market produce, and to operate equipment such as copra driers are already under way. New crops, animal husbandry and cotton weaving could all develop so as to give people more interesting lives as well as better standards of living. A new interest and activity is being shown in education, and real attempts are being made to develop it in the directions most needing reform. The new teachers' training college, in particular, should have valuable effects upon the quality of Tongan education, and should stimulate further educational reform. 000 [474] [874]

These opportunities, however, will not be realised unless there is vigorous, imaginative and generous leadership. Tonga appears to be at a turning point—it can either move forward to a healthy nationhood or become a stagnant backwater of the Pacific. The dangers of such a decline cannot be ignored, even if they should not be exaggerated. The country's history reveals a great past, but the driving energy that made that past is not so very evident to-day. Boatbuilding and seamanship, which were once responsible for the subjection of central Polynesia, are now badly decayed. Other crafts still survive but can hardly be said to flourish. There are disturbing indications that the declining powers of the chiefs may lead to the passive acceptance of a 178 [396] [502] 000

was driven straight toward an island, upon which a 164
landing was safely effected in the course of the 501
night. On the following morning, according to
custom, the crew assembled to partake of a funeral
feast in memory of their lost comrade; but while
the repast was still proceeding, to their great
amazement the man himself suddenly appeared
among them. Incredible as it may seem, he had
actually kept himself afloat during the whole of the
night, and being carried by the sea and wind in
the track of the canoe, he had, as by a miracle,
reached the same shore, in time to do what few beside
himself have ever done—partake of his own
burial feast!

On making the land, as well as in starting upon 501
a voyage, the crew enliven the occasion by chanting, (533)
in full chorus, one or other of their pleasing, though (461)
monotonous, *Tauaalo*, or sea-songs. When within
a short distance of the shore the anchor is dropped,
or, failing the possession of an anchor, one of the
crew dives overboard with a long pole in his hand,
the end of which he either fixes into a crevice of
the coral rock, or he bores it into the loose sand;
and to it the canoe is moored. A busy scene then
takes place. The first operation is that of landing
the huge sail. For this purpose a number of the (482)
crew jump overboard; and the end of the sail having
been laid upon the shoulders of the first man,
each in succession takes a part in bearing it aloft
above the surface of the water; and thus it is carried
safely on shore. If no small canoe be at hand
to convey the passengers to the land, each makes
for the shore the best way that he can. The common (565)
people wade or swim, while the chiefs are (482)
carried either upon a broad plank or on the

501 [565] [482] shoulders of some of the crew. In this way there are few scenes, in Tonguese life, so full of bustle and interest as the departure or arrival of a kalia from a *folau*, or voyage, of any considerable length. Every tongue on board is busy, while on shore numbers of excited relatives and friends are waiting to welcome the visitors, with the warmest expressions of love, and with marks of the most profuse hospitality.

501 643 541 Bearing all the foregoing particulars in remembrance, the reader will be able to realize somewhat of the amazing noise, and excitement, attending the arrival and debarcation of the royal fleet of fourteen canoes, all of which were covered from stem to stern with human beings. Instead, however, of 501 643 541 533 797 the rude *tauaalo*, the people, on the different canoes, were chanting the spiritual songs of Sion and the high praises of Jehovah. The truth was, that the islands of Vavau, from whence the fleet had come, had recently been visited by a remarkable revival of religion, and numbers on board, including the king himself, had caught some of the sacred fire. The effect upon our minds was indescribable, and it was very evident that a deep impression was also made upon the crowds assembled on the beach. As the sail of each vessel was lowered, a stanza of some well-known hymn or chant was sung; and amidst this unwonted burst of religious feeling, the good king of the Friendly Islands stepped upon the shore. To our thought it was a far more noble reception than it would have been if accompanied by the loud salutes of cannon or the din of martial music. It also spoke volumes for the success of Missionary enterprise in the country.

643 As soon as possible we proceeded to have our

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

in a new and pleasing work,—that of receiving contributions 797
in cocoa-nut oil from our Church members 794
in Neiafu alone, in aid of the General Mission 431
Funds. Each separate group of people advanced,
bringing their contributions to the front of the [533]
Mission House, while singing some well-known hymn tune, or a plaintive native air to suitable words, expressive of Christian experience and joy. The sight was highly pleasing and suggestive. About one hundred and thirty gallons were received. This is a fair beginning: and, as all the places in Haafuluhao are engaged to do something, we expect to have a considerable quantity ready, for shipment to the colony, on the arrival of the "John Wesley." The few Englishmen residing here have also sent in contributions of several dollars; and their example has been followed by some of the chiefs, who have had the means of obtaining money from ships and traders.

Sunday, 14th.—Preached this morning at our 797
large chapel in Neiafu; but, in consequence of an excruciating headache and feverishness, felt unequal to any great exertion. The weather extremely sultry and the heat intense. Having rested a little after service, I went to an adjacent village, to preach what may be called a Missionary Sermon. The object was to encourage the present movement among the natives for the support and extension of Missionary effort among themselves, and in surrounding islands in these seas. Our service continued in the midst of heavy rain and storm till after sunset. Being thoroughly exhausted, Noa Maui, one of my boatmen who had accompanied me, would not allow me to
walk. Both of us were wet and weary, but he insisted [482]
upon carrying me all the way home on his broad shoulders. The Lord will reward him in "that day."

797 Wednesday, 17th.—Have been ill since last Sunday, but my mind is kept peaceful.

Sunday, 21st.—Still rather unwell, but went in the boat and fulfilled my appointments at Bagaimotu. Preached twice, and met the members of Society. I spoke to each member individually, and hope good was done. Returned home after dark. [533] The boatmen sang several hymns as we glided along over the rippling sea, lighted on our way by the glorious beams of the full moon. There are no moonlight nights like this under the murky skies of our native land. The scene was gorgeous, and the singing sounded exceedingly fine, as it echoed and re-echoed from the shores of the harbour on either hand.

797 766 609 Thursday, 25th.—Walked to Toula. The road was bad, and it rained nearly all the way. After preaching, I visited a small cave facing Neiafu Bay, where all foreigners, whether Europeans or others, who died in these islands, were formerly buried. The native guide informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand. Upon any sudden rising of the sea, such as occurs during hurricanes, the cave was liable to inundation, in which case the relics of the dead were generally carried off by the receding tide. There were still, however, (when we saw it,) several human bones strewing the cave, clearly indicating the purpose to which it had been devoted in heathen times. Now, [177] through the Gospel, a better and more generous spirit actuates these people, and strangers receive all the necessary respect when they die, by being interred in the ordinary manner, and in the usual burying-grounds.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

arrived just in time to pass without damaging the boat, although we touched the rocks several times rather heavily. Upon reaching the deeper water of the bay itself, the boatmen accompanied their rowing by singing several plaintive native *tauaalos* set to religious words. The effect was very fine; and, before we reached the landing-place, the moon had thrown her brilliant light over the peaceful landscape. Late as it was, several of the Leaders and Local Preachers were still waiting our arrival, who conducted us to the village. Here we found that great preparations had been made for a preaching service. The chapel was beautifully lighted up, and the people were anxiously waiting to be called together. Having already held four religious services during the day, and having sailed above twenty miles under a burning sun, without any shelter, I felt almost unequal to the exertion; but, under the circumstances, I dare not say no. With considerable effort I preached, and concluded the service about ten P.M.

Tuesday, 29th.—Was occupied to-day, from daylight until about noon, in meeting the members of the various classes. It was a season of spiritual refreshing, and I trust that our people were quickened during these services. But, O, how much need here for real heart-work! What need for the instructions of the Divine Spirit!

After partaking of the abundant refreshment provided by this kind and grateful people, we sailed for Niuababu, where we arrived about three P.M. Being, however, completely exhausted, and even ill, I could not possibly preach. After meeting the male members in the various classes, I rested for the remainder of the night.

276 exhausted. The *gaahi kava* wiped the bowl clean with her bunch of
574 *fau* and again brought her arms to rest on either side edge of the
bowl. A member of the party now advanced, lifted the bowl, and
holding its inner surface towards the guests of honour, slapped it on
[123] its under side and bore it from the scene. The whole *kava* ceremony
thus described in detail, occupied less than forty minutes, and was
followed by a dinner from the food that had ceremonially been
presented to me.

533 After the dinner the whole company marched in procession to the beautiful Free Church building. Here some seven choirs, drawn from the five villages of Haalaufuli, Hologa, Houma, Taanea and Magia united in a *hiva*, or song service. Fourteen anthems were rendered, two by each choir. The singing was a revelation, and was without any instrumental accompaniment, and without the aid of the printed score, or any printed word. Most of the selections were by native composers, and these showed considerable merit. Two selections, however, were quite familiar. They were the "Hallelujah Chorus" from Handel's "Messiah," and "Glorious is Thy Name."

622 One of the chiefs present at these celebrations was a Native doctor,
Mr. George Kubu, who is uncle of Queen Salote, and a brother of the
123 late Queen Lavinia, of Tonga. Two days later I visited his village
122 of Hologa, and he, having noted my interest in the *milolua*, or *kava*
ceremony, had arranged for its repetition in my honour. At this
276 second ceremony, which was preceded by the singing of an ode of
574 welcome, that had been originally composed and sung to welcome to
533 Hologa, the late King George Tubou II. several years ago, the whole
party was seated under a *balebale nofoaga*, or shelter, that had been
276 temporarily erected on the *malae*. The ceremony was the introduction
574 to a feast, and it differed from the previous *milolua* in the fact that the
kava maker was a man, and the cup-bearers were women. On
[123] numerous occasions I saw *kava* made with as little ceremony and as
much haste as possible, and count myself favoured to have witnessed
a ceremony that few are now privileged to see.

25: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

276 for the purpose, and using only the hand on the side nearer
574 the king.

People come from the *toua*, each bearing a cup, and
276 574 stand ready. The first approaches and holds his cup over
576 the bowl, whilst the man who has brewed the *kava* wrings
some of the beverage into it. The caller cries *Koe kava kuo*
[533] *heka*, The *kava* is lifted. It might be better to say that the caller sings this; even on ordinary occasions this, and the *matapule's* response, are uttered in a musical chant; whilst on great occasions cry and response are drawn out much longer. Motu'apuaka replies, *'Ave ia ma'a Lauaki*, Take it for Lauaki. Lauaki claps his hands, and the cup is taken to him. The second cup is for Niukapu, and the third for
[643] the king.[10] The *matapule* orders the king's cup to be brought
[192] in different terms from those used for the other cups; he says, *Omai ia ki heni ma'a Tupou*, Bring it here for Tupou.
[565] So in other *kava* parties the cup for the highest chief present
[554] is ordered to be brought here, not taken, for the chief. Each cup as it is filled is called, a name given by the *matapule* for it to be taken to, and the person called claps to show his whereabouts. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh cups are taken in order to chiefs and *matapules*, alternating from one side to the other, to Nuku, to the *matapule* next Niukapu, to the *matapule* next Nuku, to Ahio. The eighth cup jumps to the *fasi alofi*, to Ve'ehala. The ninth cup returns to where the distribution left off to go to Ve'ehala, and three more are served on either side; then to the chief in the *fasi alofi* opposite to Ve'ehala, namely Ma'afu. Three more on either side, and then Ata, in the *fasi tapu;* three more on either side and then Vaha'i, in the *fasi tapu* opposite to Ata. Three on either side, and then to Tungi, out by himself behind the *toua*. Three on either side, and then to Tolo, who was brought from Vava'u to Tongatabu to represent the Ha'a Ngata tupu in the king's *kava* party. He sits in the *toua*. Then the *matapule* who is ordering the distribution has a cup brought to himself. He, however, does not at once drink it, but sits with it between his hands, resting on the ground. The distribution then goes on as before, three on either side, followed by a cup which "jumps," *hopo*. The distribution goes through all the *ha'a*

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[10] At a comparatively informal *kava* party I have seen the first cup brought to the Queen.

Tu'ivakano, noble of Nukunuku and one of the 33 hereditary nobles of Tonga, is a talented and well-known composer of Tongan music.

Ko e taha eni e punake mohu taleniti mo ongoongoa, 'a Tu'ivakano. Ko e taha foki ia 'o e kau nopele tukufakaholo 'e 33 'i Tonga. Ko e nopele ia 'o Nukunuku.

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ongan scholar, Sione Latukefu, Ph.D. Philosophy, is author the book *Church and State in Tonga* (Australian National niversity Press, 1974)

o e tangata ako mo'onia eni ko Sione Latukefu, 'a ia 'oku ne ta u e mata'itohi ma'olunga ko e Toketa Filosofia. Kuo ne u foki he tohi ko e *Church and State in Tonga* [Siasi mo e ule'anga ' Tonga, a ia na'e pulusi 'i he 1974.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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Dancing is one of the oldest, most well-loved arts in Tonga. Above: A young lady in typical dance costume at 'Oholei Beach does the popular *tau'olunga* dance, obeying the cardinal rule of Tongan dancers—to smile. At right: Pretty dancers in gay attire rest before starting the [535] *ma'ulu'ulu*, which is a combination sit-down dance and action song. Beginning at a very young age, Tongan children learn the skillful dances—girls, the graceful arm and hand movements, and [868] boys, the rhythmic, more vigorous counterpart.

Ko e me'a manakoa 'i Tonga 'a e faiva. Ta 'i 'olunga: Ko e tau'olunga eni 'a ha ki'i finemui 'i he matatahi ko 'Oholei. Ta 'i to'omata'u: Ko e kau finemui eni 'oku nau teuteu ke fai 'enau ma'ulu'ulu.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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of an 'api is further enlivened by the children and young 351
people, who spend much of the time outside during the day.

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a 512
lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village.
In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears [287]
the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the
bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the [526]
afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young
people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound [533]
of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of [794]
the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most [574]
people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and
village sounds are muted.

The boundaries of a number of 'api are marked by a 351
fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary 417
marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock
out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are
made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those
close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as
protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses 351
along the main road have a preferred position, providing 361
ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience [554]
in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses [487]
further back are reached by narrow trails along which one
must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths
that soon become muddy bogs when it rains.

51: Posesi Fanua G,I-4,5 (no date) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

CORRESPONDENCE

Sir,

In a recent issue of your journal (vol. 82, No. 2, June 1973), I was interested 114
to read an article by Tupou L. Pulu under the heading: "Some Remarks on
Alternative Meanings for Tongan Place Names".

Although I heartily agree with her in her opinion of Gifford's *Tongan Place
Names*, Gifford's mistakes serve rather as a warning to me, as it is so easy to fall
into the same trap.

I have spent almost 20 years of my life doing research into this subject and still
feel I cannot be so arrogant as to make decisive statements. Of course, I can 114
quote information given, but the giver of that information must also be quoted 103
as there are many versions of each place name: the name 'Auhangamea is an
example. In another account, which I learned from Mafile'o Funaki of 'Uiha, 103
the young daughter of a Tu'itonga died on a return voyage from 'Uvea. As the 173
vessel passed this strait, the mats and tapa which had been wrapped round the
putrifying body were renewed and the soiled articles thrown overboard so that
they would be destroyed. Thus the strait was called: "Place (*'anga*) where the
[mats and tapa] things (*me'a*) were destroyed (*'auha*)". But, as I have mentioned 114
above, I feel I must steer off this subject lest I too should fall into the same
category as Mr Gifford and others.

The only thing I should like to correct is that Houma-fale-ono was not the [159]
daughter of the Chief of Houma. Her father was Ma'afu-tukui-'aulahi, Chief of [622]
Vaini, and there is no dispute about this. In the 18 books of genealogy kept in [217]
the Palace Office, Nuku'alofa, she is cited as such.

Included in the list of references, is a work by my father, Fe'iloakitau Kaho. 114
The title is given as *Ko e Kumi 'o e Tu'i 'e he Kau Ha'apai*, which, being in italics, 114
I understand to be the name of a book; being Kaho's one and only child and 113
having no knowledge that he ever wrote a book, I naturally should like to have
information on where I could obtain a copy. The title given to this book is the [533]
title of a song of his which he composed for a *lakalaka* dance; I found it amongst
his papers when he died at the good old age of 89 years.

In my father's papers, which as his only child I became heir to, there is a 114
different story cited there about the birth of Taufa'ahau (Tupouto'a's son). I might 173
mention here that Tupouto'a and Kahomovailahi were first cousins, their mothers [428]
being sisters. Kahomovailahi was my father's great-grandfather.

I pen this letter only because Kaho Fe'iloakitau is my father and I hate to 114
think that one such as he, who spent most of his life researching and teaching
our history, should be thought to have made such a mistake as that concerning 814
Houma-fale-ono's parentage, which every school child is familiar with.

I am sincerely,

Tupou Posesi Fanua
Tonga Traditions Committee,
Palace Records Office,
Nuku'alofa, Kingdom of Tonga

noseflute was a trait common to the proto-Oceanic people. The panpipe, 534
on the other hand, was one of the least widely distributed of Polynesian 171
traits. The only satisfactory pre-European evidence is from Tonga. Hiroa 175
appeals to Wilkes (1844) and Stair (1897) for Samoan evidence, but 534
their writings are too late to prove pre-European distribution.[1] I agree 171 114
with Hiroa that this limited Polynesian distribution indicates late pre- 175
European introduction from Fiji, but for different reasons. It would
appear that panpipes are part of the Melanesian culture complex that
came into the Melanesian area in post-Lapita contexts and extended
as a complex as far as Fiji. For centuries before the coming of the 177
Europeans there was considerable contact between Fiji and Tonga in
trade, warfare, and intermarriage. Diffusion of material culture was
inevitable.

A number of parallels in material culture, including panpipes and 175 534
bamboo stamping tubes, are shared between Tonga and Melanesia,[2] 535
which suggests late introduction from Fiji. Bamboo stamping tubes 177
(tuki kofe) accompanied Tongan dances of the type called *me'elaufola.* [171]
At the time of European contact the *me'elaufola* was a living dance [533]
type, with the poetry sung in everyday language (rather than the older [192]
poetic Tongan used in the texts for other dance types), and could
easily incorporate new musical instruments and ideas. The use of bamboo stamping tubes in Tonga is described mainly in the journals of
Cook and Labillardière -- Tongans today are not familiar with the
instruments except as used in the Fijian *meke.* The demise of bamboo
stamping tubes soon after European contact suggests that they were not
fundamental to Tongan music and may have been introduced relatively
recently in prehistoric times from Fiji. The panpipe *(mimika)*, likewise, 534
seems to have had no fundamental musical purpose or meaning in 175
Tongan music, but rather appears to have been simply a pleasurable
pastime object. I suggest that it, too, was introduced from Fiji relatively [177]
late in the prehistoric sequence, that it enjoyed a temporary flowering,
then changed, and eventually disappeared after European contact.

In his 1941 article, Hiroa attributed two Tongan panpipes to Cook's 534
voyages. One of these, in the Cook collection in Berne, Switzerland, 113
was collected by Webber, artist on Cook's third voyage (although it is
not listed in Henking 1957, and cannot be located). The other, in the
British Museum, is noted "Cook coll.", although this attribution was

voyagers, and especially as there was no panpipe in Caen[12] or La 534
Rochelle—two collections known to contain objects from his voyage—177
this depiction is best disregarded. 113

A number of panpipes, presumably also from Tonga, with only five 534
(or six) pipes is also found in museum collections. Two are in the Brit- 113
ish Museum, one from H. M. S. *Herald* (fig. 1 d)[A] and one which came into the collection in 1876. Another is in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (fig. 5 a)[B] in the original collection formed by General Pitt Rivers. There are two in the Peabody Museum, Salem, both from the 1908 Weld accession. One of these was purchased from Oldman (fig. 14)[C] and one (with six pipes) comes from the Hill collection (fig. 15).[C] The only collection data we have on any of these smaller panpipes state that one was collected on H. M. S. *Herald*, a ship that was engaged in survey work in the Fiji Islands and the Pacific in 1852—1859.[13] There is no evidence that this panpipe, or any of the five- or six-pipe variety, was actually collected in Tonga, and they may have been identified as Tongan by museum curators because of their double-beveled blowing end. The longest pipes of these five- or six-pipe panpipes range in size from 5 1/2 inches to 12 3/4 inches. The longest pipes in the nine- or ten-pipe panpipes range from 7 1/4 inches to 14 inches. Only nine- and ten-pipe specimens are found in the 18th century Tongan collections, and it would appear that the five- or six-pipe variety simply represents a smaller, more easily manufactured post-European style (if, indeed, they are Tongan).

Early writers on the subject of Tongan panpipes were of the opinion 534
that the pipes were "placed promiscuously" (Forster 1777, Book II: 533
456) or without regular progression (Beaglehole 1967, Part 2: 940). Hiroa felt that the pipes were "not placed haphazard, but according to a definite scale that Anderson or some other musician could work if the instruments were available for testing" (1941: 176). Söderström, however, seemed unhappy about the experiments by a musician on the Stockholm panpipe (Söderström 1939: 44). Testing these today is rather unsatisfactory because many of the pipes are broken or cracked and the pitches are barely distinguishable. Fortunately, Joshua Steele, who was asked by the Royal Society to examine the Furneaux and Banks panpipes in 1774—1775, was a musician. He notated the sounds he obtained by blowing them in the same way "as people use to whistle in the pipe

A /see p. 121--Analyst/
B /see p. 123--Analyst/
C /see p. 127--Analyst/

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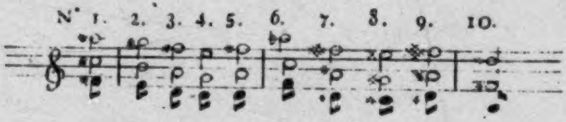
531 hole of a drawer key" (1775: 69) and superimposed the pitches on a
533 drawing of the Furneaux panpipe (fig. 4). "Of the tones, marked on the drawing, the upper series, which are exact fifths to the lower, are easiest produced by an unexperienced person; and the lower series, which we will call fundamentals, with somewhat more address and a weaker blast".[14] The sounds obtained from the Banks panpipe Steele notated as follows:[15]



The similarity of the tonal systems of the two instruments is apparent and Steele remarked that they were of the "same genus" (p. 72). It is still possible to produce the main pitches on the Banks panpipe and others now in the British Museum, but the sounds are very slight.

In all the nine- or ten-pipe panpipes I have tested,[16] the intervalic relationships of pipes 2, 3, 4, 5 (5 being a repetition of 3), and 6, 7, 8, 9 (9 being a repetition of 7), are essentially the same, except that pipes 6, 7, 8, 9 seem slightly less than a half tone higher than pipes 2, 3, 4, 5. Also in the panpipes that I have tested, the intervals between pipes 1 and 10 and their neighboring pipes vary from panpipe to panpipe. The 10th pipe, if present, varies most--ranging from the longest of the set, to approximately the same as one of the other pipes (e.g., pipe 2 as in fig. 1a). Steele's 18th century observation on the two panpipes agree with this. Steele also found that the interval between pipes 1 and 2 in the Furneaux panpipe was three semitones, while the interval between pipes 1 and 2 in the Banks panpipe was two semitones.

From this I conclude that there are three important pitch relationships in a Tongan panpipe, i.e., those obtained from pipes 2, 3, and 4. These three relationships are repeated at a slightly higher (or lower) pitch, and there are one or two notes which are not essential but "decorate" these basic relationships in a limited number of ways. All of the pitches are usually encompassed within a fourth (except the 10th pipe, which is sometimes lower). The panpipe structure includes two groups of four pipes each. In a four-pipe group there are three pitches with a repetition of the middle one, and the second four-pipe group

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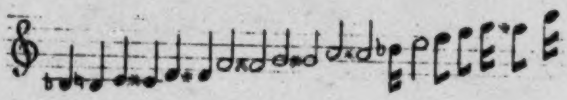
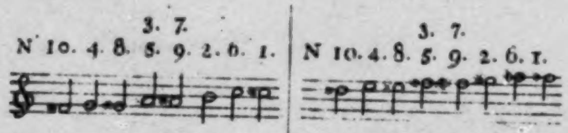
repeats these relationships at a slightly different pitch.[17] This would be 534
quite in line with a Tongan aesthetic principle which values "repetition 533
in a slightly different way" in order to challenge a listener's power of [517]
instantaneous transformation and thus experience the parallel (Kaeppler
1971 a). This principle is found repeatedly in Tongan poetry and [538]
dance movements, but is not found in melodic line except when the [535]
same melodic contour is played successively on nosefIutes with slightly
different tonal relationships. The "decorative"[18] high and low notes [517]
found in the 1st and 10th pipes, as well as the near repetition in the
intervalic structure, would appear to express another aesthetic concept
found in vocal music, that is, decoration of the basic melodic contour.
In traditional Tongan vocal polyphony there was a *fasi* (melody),
laulalo (drone), and up to four decorative, i.e., nonessential parts
(Kaeppler 1972: 2—3). Although the melodic line itself was simple and
repetitive, the complete musical product could be rendered complex and
interesting by additional parts. The panpipe, although it had only three
main pitch relationships, could be made more complex and interesting
by a repetition of these pitch relationships at a slightly different pitch
level, which, I submit, is a form of "repetition in a slightly different
way", as well as a "decoration" of the basic melodic contour. The
arrangement of the pipes would produce, in effect, a successive, rather
than simultaneous, "polyphony".

Steele concluded that the pipes produced a series "sufficient for an infinite number of airs" (1775: 70) which he represented as follows:

Furneaux panpipe, p. 70:

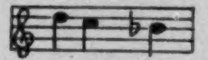
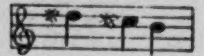


Banks panpipe, p. 78:



Fifths above the supposed fundamentals, produced by a gentle blast.

Tierces, or tenths, above the supposed fundamentals, produced by a stronger blast.

534 I submit, however, that Tongans did not cognize the scale in this way,
533 nor were they attempting to obtain more than one sound from a pipe by using more or less breath—but rather that they had in mind two similar sets of pitches, e.g.  and  which could both be played on one instrument. Thus, the obtainable melodic contours were in some ways similar to those found in Tongan noseflutes (*fangufangu*).[19] It may be that the Tongans were attempting to simulate the concept of using the sounds of two slightly different noseflutes (two or more of which were sometimes said to have been played together or successively). The number of pipes and their consistent intervalic patterns may derive from knowledge of noseflute "tuning". Indeed, panpipes may have been used to play variations on noseflute themes which needed only four pitches. The melody was almost "built in" to the panpipe and the player needed only to move the instrument across his lips. Indeed, an 18th century account describes just this: "a notch was formed at the top of each [pipe], and the method of playing was only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips" (Forster 1777, Book II: 456). Thus, it does not appear that the Tongan panpipe was played as are most panpipes (i.e., by blowing into each pipe as into a bottle to get individual pitches) because Tongan panpipes do not have straight top edges like other panpipes. Bound in a raft with twisted sennit, the upper edges are beveled on both sides, one side with a deeper bevel than the other. It must have been played with the shorter bevel against the lips and the deeper bevel on the outside functioning in much the same way as the mouthpiece of a Japanese *shakuhachi*. Indeed, Dodge and Brewster consider Tongan panpipes to be notched flutes (1945: 56).

534 Although the tuning is not the same, the sound of the Tongan panpipe is quite soft and in tone quality is comparable to the sound of the Tongan noseflute. But the question inevitably arises why Tongans would want to
534 simulate such music on something other than a noseflute. I feel that, in
565 addition to the novelty of a new instrument, the answer may be found in the use patterns of material culture in this highly stratified society. According to tradition, noseflutes in Tonga were used to play (or, according to Mariner [Martin 1818, Vol. 2: 318] to accompany) *'upe*, i.e., songs used to awaken chiefs. They may also have been used for

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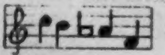
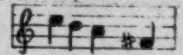
5. The manuscript list is in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. (Misc. Ms. 1169), while an explanation of the purpose of the list is in a letter from George Forster to Fabroni in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. 534 113
6. The origin of the Florence Cook collection is still a mystery, but I suggest that it came from the Forsters, the sale of the Leverian Museum (see Kaeppler, in preparation, a), and perhaps others such as James Burney.
7. I am indebted to Ruth Dawson for this reference.
8. Humphrey's manuscript catalogue was made available through the courtesy of Manfred Urban, Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, who is currently preparing the Göttingen Cook voyage collections for publication. The pipes in both of the Göttingen panpipes are not in the correct order and must have been taken apart and put back together in a more graduated arrangement. The Forster panpipe in the Göttingen collection was referred to by Fischer (1958: 58), who notes that there was something uncommon in the instrument.
9. Some of the pipes are missing from this panpipe, see note 17.
10. This sketchbook is in the Australian Museum, Sydney.
11. The attribution to New Zealand must be incorrect.
12. The collection in Caen was destroyed during World War II. However, a list of objects was published in 1880 (Anon. 562—564). [177]
13. N. E. Upham, National Maritime Museum, personal communication.
14. "Besides the above mentioned tones, if the velocity of the breath be increased a little, the five first pipes will give octaves to the fundamentals; and if farther increased, sharp thirds, or tierces, above these octaves. In the pipes 6, 7, 8, and 9, I could neither make the octaves to the fundamentals, nor the sharp tierces; but in their stead, the minor, or flat-third, above the octave came, when the breath was urged beyond the degree requisite to produce the fifth. This minor third is an accident out of the natural order of tones produced from simple tubes, which I do not pretend to account for." p. 69. 534 533
15. "The sounds which each pipe exhibits easily, are marked in minims" (p. 74), i.e.,
16. The pipe numbering in this section follows that in fig. 4. A
17. This can be seen even in the incomplete Vienna panpipe (fig. 12). According to Moschner the pitches are as depicted from left to right, c, b, ab, b, c, eb. (Moschner 1955: 239). However, as the lengths of the two "c" pipes are different, it is apparent that the left "c" pipe is part of another 4-pipe group of slightly lower pitch. It is also apparent that the 7th pipe from the left on the Forster panpipe (fig. 6b) B is broken and should be slightly longer than the 3rd pipe from the left, and that the first and sixth pipes of the Wörlitz instrument are "missing". (see Germer, 1971: 81). Given this information it is now possible to arrange the pipes of those instruments that are broken or have been taken apart in the past into their "correct" order. I have

A /see p. 122--Analyst/
B /see p. 123--Analyst/

done this with the Florence panpipes (fig. 8), but the Göttingen panpipes (fig. 7 A) are still incorrect. 534 533

18. That these pipes are in fact "decorative" can only be inferred by analogy (see Kaeppler, in press). No living Tongans have precise knowledge of panpipes nor is there any written description of the panpipe musical system from the Tongan point of view.
19. Two noseflutes in Bishop Museum produce the following pitches

 and 

(Strobaccon reading for the latter is C-15, B-33, A-19, F-40) and many noseflutes approximate this tuning. Noseflutes were not really "tuned", but the holes were placed by rough measuring and "by eye"; it is unlikely that the pitches on any two instruments would be exactly the same.

20. Tongan noseflutes can be played from either end, therefore this terminology is used only for convenience. Some players prefer one end to the other, but it is possible to play them from either end. 534
21. For more information on these specimens, see Appendix I in Kaeppler, in prep. c.

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A /see p. 124--Analyst/

TUESDAY 20*th*. Fenough havi[ng] expressed a desire to see the 648
Marines go through their exercize and being willing to gratify him
I ordered them all ashore from both ships in the Morning of the 20th [634]
After they had gone through their exercize and fired several Volleys,
the Cheif entertained us again in his turn with a sight intirely new. 648
It was a kind of dance, performed by men and youths of the first
rank; but so much unlike any thing I know of in any other part of 541
the World, that no discription I can give will convey even a tolerable 535
Idea of it. Any number may perform it, there were in this one hundred
and five, each having in his hand an Instrument shaped something [293]
like a paddle of 2½ feet in length, with a small handle and thin
blade so that they were very light and the most of them neatly made.
With these Instruments, they made many and various flourishes each
of which was attended with a different attitude of the body and some
different movement or a nother. They at first ranged themselves in
three lines, and by different movements and motions each man
changed his station in such a manner that those who were in the
rear came in front. Nor did they remain long in the same form, but
these changes were made by pretty quick movements; they at one
time extended themselves in one line then formed into a semicircle
and lastly into two square Columns, while this last was performing,
one of them came and danced a harlequin dance before me with
which the whole ended. The musick was two drums or rather two [534]
hollow logs of wood on each of which they beat with two sticks. It
did not appear to me that the dance was much assisted or directed [533]
by this Musick, but by a Song in which every one joined as with one
voice; it was musical and harmonious and all their motions were performed
with such justness that the whole party moved and acted as
one man.[1] It was the opinion of every one of us that such a performance
whould have met with universal applause on a European
Theatre, and so far exceeded any thing we had done to amuse them
that they seemed to pique themselves in the superiority they had
over us. Not one of our musical instruments, except the drum did 534
they hold in the least esteem, and even the Drum they did not think
superiour to their own; as to the French horns they very seldom 829
would attend to them attall either here or at any of the other islands.[2]

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[1] This paddle-dance, *mē ea buggi*, says Mariner, II, p. 215 and n, 'is a Nuha [i.e. Niuatoputapu] dance, but the songs accompanying it are Hamoa [Samoa].'—*Me'e tu'upaki*: *me'e*, a dance; *tu'u*, persistently, or 'to keep going'; *paki*, a paddle.

[2] It was probably during the proceedings of this morning of 20 May that Cook's fate [634]
was in the balance, as told in Mariner's story (II, pp. 71–2), quoted above, pp. ciii–civ.
Presumably Finau and the other chiefs had already their night dance in preparation, and [648]
the argument was over whether to do the deed of assassination during the morning or the
following evening.

648 177 In order to give them a better opinion of English amusements, I ordered a set of Fire works to be got ready and after it was dark played them off before the Chief and a great concourse of people;[1] some of the works were spoiled, but there were enough good to answer the end I intended, particular some sky and Water Rockets which astonished and pleased them beyond measure and intirely turned the scale in our favour.

648 541 533 535 [534] By such time as the fire works were over Fenough had got ready a nother entertainment, this consisted of musick, singing and dancing.[2] A number of men seated themselves in a circle before us and began a Song not one word of which we understood; the musick was in the middle of the circle and consisted simply of two large pieces of bamboo with which they struck the ground endways and produced a dead hollow sound, each was managed by one man, who held it nearly in a Virtical position, the upper end was open but the other was closed by one of the joints. In a short time a number of Women, dressed better than Common, came and encircled the men in a kind of dance and joined in the Song; thus they continued for a full half hour, when two elderly women (one on each side, and who seemed to have the management of the whole) brough[t] the others up, dancing, two by two and ranged them before the chief, which ended the dance and the assembly broke up. Both men and Women accompaned the Song with a variety of motions of the hands and snaping of the fingers, which seems to be an essential part of their singing; their voices are however extreemly musical and their actions gracefull and decent, if we except some few which in a English assemb[l]y would be thought otherwise. But these indecent actions few as they are, do not arrise from any wanton ideas, but merely to increase the variety, for it is as[t]onishing to see the number of actions they observe in their dances and songs.[3]

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[1] 'I know of no judgement that is more liable to err, than in giving the numbers in a croud; the most moderate computers suppos'd 2000 collect'd whilst others guest 3 times that number; I am inclin'd to the first estimation, as the open space space they stood in, could not hold 6000.'—King, 20 May.

[2] 'In return for Capt^{n} Cook kindness they Entertained us with a Grand Heeva, or dance, which Surpassed any thing in order & reguraIlity that can be conceived of Indians.'—Martin, 20 May. These dances by night are very much better described, and at length, by Anderson—and perhaps Cook was relying on him to give the details. See pp. 875–8 below. Mariner, in discriminating between the different sorts of Tongan dance, and after remarking that 'it would be difficult to give a more faithful account than has already been given in Cook's Voyages', notes that 'The night-dance which Captain Cook saw (the *mē lau fola*) is perhaps the only one which can be considered of Tonga invention, and is the only one accompanied throughout with Tonga songs:' the others coming from Samoa and 'Nuha'.—Mariner, II, pp. 213, 215. The *me'e-laufola* was not specifically a night-dance.

[177] [3] 'in the evening Capt^{n} Cook ordered some fire works on shore which were play'd off at dark, to y^{e} great entertainment and astonishment of the natives, they, ever grateful for the civilities & Compliments shew'd them, endeavour'd to amuse us for the remainder of the

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

WEDNESDAY 21st. The next morning I took a walk into the island, 241
which I found to be finely laid out into Plantations that were ex- [177]
tremely well Cultivated and planted with such roots and fruits as
are common to the island, and I made some addition by sowing the
seeds of Indian Corn, Millons Pumpkins &c^a^. All the Plantations [417]
were finced round and publick roads lay between them. When I went
on board to dinner I found a large sailing Canoe fast to the Ships [491]
stern; in this Canoe was *Latouliboula* who, we understood, was King
of Tongatabu when I visited the island last Voyage.[1] He sat in the 648
Canoe with all that gravity by which he was distinguished at that 644
time, nor could I by any means prevail upon [him] to come into the
Ship. The people called him *Arekee* which signifies King,[2] a title I had [554]
never heard one of them give Feenough which made me suspect he [634]
was not the King. Latouliboula remained under the stern till the
evening when he retired to one of the isles. Feenough was on board
at the same time but neither took any notice of the other.

THURSDAY 22nd. Nothing material happened the next day, except- 648
ing some of the Indians stealing a Tarpauling and some other things
from of the deck, they were soon missed and the thieves pursued, but 685
a little too late, I applied to Feenough to have the things returned, 634
he refered me to Earoupa and he put me of from time to time and at
last nothing was done.[3] In the morning of the 23rd as we were going to 23rd

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evening with a dance, by some of their dancing Women, who are early trained to it, for the
entertainment of the great.—The principal Women who have at all times an Air of conse- [648]
quence & dignity in whatever they do, never perform among them; the dancers were upon
this occasion particularly well dress'd after their manner, which consirts of a large piece of [541]
their cloth of a brown colour, first doubled, & then with great exactness folded on the [533]
upper part into about thirty plaits, & tied with a kind of ribband made of the leaves of the
plantin tree, dyed of different colours, round their waist, their hair is adorned w^th^ a [535]
variety of flowers, & the upper part of the body rub'd over with a perfumed Oil: from the
stiffness of the cloth, its being plaited, & the manner it is put on, they look like persons [177]
just springing out of a cask; in these dances the Women have a variety of figures, all
which they perform well, but with great labour to themselves: the custom of going with [292]
the upper part of their bodies naked is thought no way indecent, as the frequent view of
the persons so expos'd rather checks than incites every loose appetite, to us the appearance [301]
of those women who had bore many children was rather disgusting; but our ideas of [302]
disgust were soon changed into that of admiration when We beheld the most beautiful
forms that imagination can conceive in the younger part of the Sex.'—Williamson.

[1] Latunipulu, the male *Tamaha*, the man of 'sullen and stupid gravity' whom Cook met in October 1773 at Tongatapu.—II, pp. 256–8:—'a chief whose odd and wild manners attracted our attention', says King. He would not trust himself in the ship, but 'he was very eager for our curiosities, & if trust'd into his hands woud not return them, his attendants however settled the prices.'—King, 22 May.

[2] *'Eiki*, a chief, a lord; or head of a family. The Maori *ariki* (a first-born in a family of note) may have been in Cook's mind. Other journals render the word as 'agee' or 'egee'.

[3] Both sides suffered. 'Punish'd Chris^r^ Kervin with 12 lashes for losing his ramrod (which I believe the Indians stole) during the Time he was Centinel, purposely to prevent their committing any thefts.' Next day Thomas Stretcher got 6 'for suffering the Indians to steal his Boathook'.—Clerke, 21, 22 May. Next day again 'Punished one of the Indian chiefs with 15 Lashes for Theft. Had we made an Example of every one of these people that deserved it, Punishments wou^d^ have been Endless, for their Skill in Pilfering is almost past

648 landing I found the King in the house along with our people. I no
643 sooner got to him than he presented me with a large Hog and a
quantity of yams. About the dusk of the evening, a number of men
[431] came and sat down in a round group and began to sing to the Musick
of Bamboo drums which were in the middle of them, there were three
648 long ones and two short, with these they struck the ground end ways
as before discribed; there were two others which lay on the ground
643 side by side, one of them was split or shivered, on these a man kept
533 beating with two smal[l] sticks. They sung three Songs while I stayed
and I left them at it and was told they continued till 10 o'clock; they
[379] burnt the leaves of the Wharra palm for a light, I have never seen
them make use of any thing else.

122 **MONDAY** 16*th*. The 16th in the Morning after visiting the several
workmen a shore, Mr Gore and I took a walk into the Country, the
only thing we met with worthy of note was the meeting at different
places with women going through the several processes of making
648 cloth, which I shall describe in a nother place. In our return we met
with Feenough and took him and another young Chief on board to
634 dinner, but when dinner came on table niether would eat a bit,
271 saying they were Tabu Avy;[1] but after enquiring how the Victuals
had been dressed, and finding no Water had been used in Cooking a
pig and yams, they both sit down and eat very heartily, and on being
assured there was no water in the Wine they drank of it also. From
this we conjectured that on some account or a nother they were at
this time forbid to use Water, or what was more probable, they did
not like the Water we made use of, it being taken up out of one of
their bathing places. This was not the only time we met with people
that were Tabu Avy but on what account we never could tell with
any degree of certainty.

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643 wife'. The 'great royal wife', mother of Fuanunuiava, was Tupoumoheofo, daughter of
Tupoulahi, elder brother (now dead) of Maealiuaki; so that Maealiuaki was in English
644 terminology 'the Prince's' great-uncle, not his grandfather—but would still have been
regarded by him as *kui*, grandfather. Maealiuaki had still another link with the Tu'i
Tonga: his sister was the second 'great royal wife' of Paulaho's half-brother Ma'ulupekotofa. Thus, as (in English terms again), brother-in-law of the Tu'i Tonga's father, the
previous Tu'i Tonga, father-in-law of the Tu'i Tonga, uncle of one of the Tu'i Tonga's
wives and of his half-brother, and great-uncle of his son—as well as being Tu'i Kanokupolu
—he had a formidable position. Maealiuaki died in this year, 1777, when precisely we do
not know, and was succeeded as Tu'i Kanokupolu by his nephew (son of Tupoulahi), Tu'i
Halafatai. This uncertainty is probably the reason why the latter is sometimes, it seems
quite wrongly, said to have been the ruler at the time of Cook's visit.

[1] There is no doubt that Cook's second conjecture about Finau and his friend was the
right one. Water from a bathing place could not possibly be used to cook or mix with food:
[783] 'Tabu Avy' is *tapu a vai*, *tapu* because of the water. As for the other people, water might be
tapu for any number of reasons; but water, it must be noted, was also a 'cleansing agent'
for doing away with some other sorts of *tapu*.

The 17th was the day fixed upon for Mariwaggy to give a grand Tues. 17
Haiva or entertainment to which we were all invited. The 541
dancing and Singing began about 11 o'clock and continued till three
or four, there were two sets of above a hundred men and youths in 648
each, of the first rank in the island. On each side of the Area where 533
this was performed was a pile or heap of Sticks and yams, decorated 535
with different sorts of small fish, these were Marriwaggies present to
Captain Clerke and me. The yams were brought in in the Morning, 648
two at a time, one at each end of a stick or pole about six feet long, 431
these with the yams were piled up so as to appear to the most advantage
and made about three fourths of the whole so that it was ha[r]d [482]
to say whether the wood for fuel or the yams to eat were of the most
Value to us. As to the fish it might serve to please the sight but was
very offensive to the Smell, as some of it had been kept two or three
days for this occasion.

The Evening was ushered in with singing and dancing the Circular 648
dance in which both men and women performed. Feenough on 533
this occasion appeared compleatly dressed in English Cloth, with not
less than ten or a dozen strings of beads about his neck and was a 535
principal actor in this entertainment: even Mariwaggy himself at one [634]
time beat on the drum. These drums were such as I have before mentioned [292]
that is hollowed logs of Wood and Bamboos of different [301]
lengths. The Musicians to the dance are in front and
round them are seated in a long oval form a number of men who [643]
keep singing and claping their hands during the whole of the performance, [534]
the same is done in the circular dances, with this difference
that they sit in a circle and round them the dancers form a 535
nother, but this is done so insencibly that it is some time before it is [533]
compleat and very often not till the end of the dance. These dances
vary perhaps much more than we were able to discover, however
there appeared a sort of sameness throughout the whole, and so would,
I apprehend the most of our Country dances to people as unacquainted
with them as we were with theirs. The drawings which Mr
Webber has made of these performances will give a very good idea of
the order in which they range themselves but neither pen nor pencil
can discribe the numerous actions and motions they observe, which
as I have before observed are easy and gracefull and many of them
extreemly so. The whole of this entertainment was conducted with 541
far better order than could be expected in so large assembly, for at
this time there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people in 571
our neighbourhood, that is within the Compass of a quarter of a mile.
Amongst such a Multitude there must be a number of ill disposed [685]

648 inflicted I believe will scarcely be found consonant with the principles of justice or humanity upon the strictest scrutiny.

114 SATURDAY MAY 10th. The wind from E to NNE. Fresh breezes with [132] cloudy weather and a considerable swell so that no Indians came off today, but they continued to trade on shore and amongst other things [439] we bought a hawks bill turtle of about 30 Lb weight.

[132] SUNDAY 11th. The wind SSE. Fresh gales with cloudy weather before noon and some rain, thunder and lightning in the morning but afterwards clearer and more moderate. No Canoes came off the weather was so bad. In the forenoon we got off the horses and in the evening the other things with the party of Marines, three of whom were punish'd on shore for negligence. On heaving in the best Bower the service was found broke and the Cable a little damag'd.

[132] MONDAY 12th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with pretty clear weather. We should have left the Island but waited for the Discovery who has attempted to recover her anchor yesterday and today, but in vain as [439] it got hold of a rock and the weather has been bad. Few Indians came off as they seem to have exhausted the greatest part of their stock for trade.

[132] TUESDAY 13th. The wind from SE to E. Moderate breezes in the forenoon and afterwards almost calm. The weather fine. The Discovery [533] after a good deal of trouble recover'd her anchor. Few of the natives [535] came off but at night we could hear them engagd in singing and dancing on shore as if a great number had been collected together.

[132] WEDNESDAY 14th. The wind SSE and S. Gentle breezes with very fine weather. Between seven and eight in the morning we weigh'd and 648 left Anamocka or as the natives pronounce it Anna'mooka. This island (as well as Amsterdam & several of the adjacent ones) was discover'd by Abel Tasman in 1643, who considering the time he 131 staid has given a tolerable account of it. Its situation is in 20.14 S Latitude, 185.30 E Longitude, and is about four leagues or more in 193 circuit being nearly of a   figure. It is somewhat higher than the other small isles that surround it but may nevertheless be rank'd amongst the low islands.* The shore at that part where we lay

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* As the different heights of land may easily be misunderstood from the deficiency of terms we use in expressing their various degrees I shall endeavour to explain what I mean by low & other lands. By low land I mean that which is about the height of the English coast about Essex, or what is a general criterion, that on which the trees where there are any appear above water as you approach it before the body of the land is so apparent as to determine its extent. When I say land is of a moderate height I mean that it is as high as the English coast about the Downs of Kent & Sussex, or indeed of the whole southern coast as far as Plymouth. I know no part of the English coast to the E or Sºward to which I

Most of the
609 people had left their habitations to go where the ships lay, and our
421 guide, to show perhaps that he deriv'd his authority from a person
superior to any of them, often went into their huts, examind what was
565 in them & made no scruple to take what he wanted or throw the things down without. He also often stopt people that were carrying things to barter & took dress'd yams or cocoa nuts to eat, nay at one time took some fish from a poor old woman who was going to dress them and was probably her subsistence for the day, but after carrying them a little way he gave them to a person that was following us.

133 The island is not above seven miles long and in some places not more than two or three broad. The east side, which is expos'd to the trade wind, has a reef running to a considerable breadth from it on which the sea breaks with great violence. It is a continuation of this reef that joins it to Foa, which is not above half a mile from it, and is partly dry at low water so that the natives can walk from one island to the other. The shore itself is either a coral rock six or seven feet high or a sandy beach, but higher than the west side, which in general is not more than three or four feet above the level of the sea. This side forms a bending or sort of bay with a fine sandy beach its whole length, defended by several shoals without, but as the entrance in is difficult from shoals perhaps the spot where the ships lay is more
609 convenient. We found very few people in this excursion as most of them were at the Ships.

132 TUESDAY 20th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather.
In the forenoon the Captain to gratify the curiosity of the inhabitants
609 orderd a party of marines on shore with some from the Discovery to
[177] show them the method of using our fire arms. They seem'd well
pleas'd with the firing and various motions which were made, though
[535] our soldiers were by no means examples of the best discipline. In their
[714] turn they exhibited a dance and excersizd their clubs, in which it was
acknowledg'd by all they far outdid our people in exactness and dexterity.

177 In the evening we entertaind them with fire works, which luckily happen'd to be in excellent order, at which they express'd much satisfaction and a good deal of astonishment; especially at some water rockets which were admirable and gave us who had never seen any as much pleasure as the Indians could possibly receive. They compar'd the sparkles which fell from the sky rockets to falling stars, and were surpriz'd at the height of the smoke that remaind after they were spent for they suppos'd it absolutely remaind and became a cloud.

609 When we had finish'd they treated us in their turn with several
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dances, the prelude to which was a band of music or chorus of 18 609
men, who sat down in the centre of the place where the dances were 535
to be performd. Four or five of these had pieces of large Bamboo from 533
three to five or six feet long, with the close end of which the[y] kept
constantly beating the ground, though slowly, and they produc'd 534
sounds of different sorts according to their length, but all of the grave
or base cast, to counteract which a person kept striking a piece of the
same substance split and laid along the ground quickly with two
sticks, and by that means furnish'd a tone as acute as the first was
grave. The rest as well as those that beat with the Bamboos sung a 533
slow and soft air, which so temper'd the harsher music that a bye
stander who had been accustom'd to hear the most perfect and
various modulation of sounds could nevertheless not avoid confessing
the vast power and pleasing effect of this simple harmony, which
appear'd not to be produc'd from the variety but the sorts of tones
made use of.

After continuing for about a quarter of an hour twenty women [824]
enter'd the circle most of whom had garlands of the crimson flowers
of the China rose[1] or others about their head, and many had cut some [301]
other leaves they had about them as ornaments with a great deal of
nicety about the edges. They made a circle round the chorus turning 533
their faces towards it, and began by singing a soft air to which re-
sponses were made by the chorus in the same tone, which were 535
repeated alternately, during which time the woman accompanied their song with several very gracefull motions of the hands towards the face and in other directions, at the same time making constantly a step forward and then back again with one foot while the other was fix'd. They then turnd their faces to the assembly, sung some time, and retreated slowly in a body to one part of the circle which was opposite to where some of the principle people sat as spectators in a small hut. One then advanc'd from each side, met and pass'd each other at the front walking round till they came to the rest, on which two advanc'd from each side two of whom pass'd each other and return'd as the former, but the other two remaind & to these came one from each side by intervals till they had again made a circle about the chorus.

Their manner of dancing was now chang'd for a quicker sort in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping and clapp'd their hands, repeating some words in conjunction with the chorus, but towards the end as the quickness of the music increas'd they perform'd a sort of motion which with us would be rather reckon'd

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[1] Hibiscus.

533 indecent, as they mov'd the lower part of the body on the trunk from
535 side to side for a considerable time with such vigour and dexterity as shows they have been well initiated in the practice of it, on which they finish'd the dance.

To these succeeded fifteen men some of whom were old, but their age seem'd to have abated little of their agility or ardour for the dance. They were dispos'd in a sort of circle divided at the front, with their faces not turnd out towards the assembly nor in to the chorus, but one half the circle fac'd forwards as they had advancd and the other half in a contrary direction. They sometimes sung slowly in conjunction with the chorus during which they made several very fine motions with their hands but different from those of the women, at the same time inclining the body to either side alternately by raising one leg which was stretch'd outwards and resting on the other, the arm of the same side being also stretch'd fully upwards. At other times they recited sentences in a musical tone which were answer'd by the chorus, and at intervals increas'd the measure of their dance by clapping the hands and quickening the motions of their feet which however were never varied. At the end the music & dancing quickend so much that it was scarcely possible to distinguish the different motions, though one might suppose they were almost tir'd as it had lasted near half an hour.

After a considerable interval twelve men came in, who plac'd themselves in double rows fronting each other but on opposite sides of the circle, and on one side a man who repeated several sentences as if he had been a prompter, to which they and the chorus replied. They then sung slowly and afterwards danc'd and sung more quickly almost after the manner of the former, for about a quarter of an hour.
535 Soon after they had finishd nine women came and sat down fronting the hut where the chief was. A man then rose and struck the first woman a blow on the back with both fists together in the manner our country people sometimes do to a sack of flower or corn to fit it to the persons back who is to carry it. He proceeded in the same manner to the second and third, but when he came to the fourth, I cannot tell whether from accident or design, but instead of the back he struck her on the breast, upon which a person rose instantly from the crowd, gave him a blow on the head which struck him to the ground and he was carried off without the least noise or disorder. But this did not save the other women from so odd a punishment, or perhaps necessary ceremony, for a person succeeded him who treated the rest in the same manner. Their misfortune did not end here for when they danc'd they had the mortification to find it was twice disapprov'd of and

were oblig'd to repeat it. The dance did not differ much from that of 535
the first women except in one circumstance, where they raisd the
body upon one leg by a sort of double motion and so with the other
alternately, during which they kept snapping the fingers and at the end
they repeated the wriggling motion of the first with great briskness.

In a little time a person enter'd unexpectedly and said something 177
in a ludicrous way about the fire works that had been exhibited,
which extorted a burst of laughter from the multitude, after which
we had a dance compos'd of the men who attended or had follow'd
Feenou. They form'd a double circle (i e one within the other) of 535
twenty four each round the chorus, and began with a gentle soothing 533
song with corresponding motions of the hands and head (which
lasted for a considerable time) and then chang'd to a much quicker
measure with which they repeated sentences either in conjunction
with or in answer to some spoke by the chorus. They then retreated
to the back part of the circle as the women had done, and advancd on
each side in a triple row till they formd a semicircle, which was done
very slowly by inclining the body on one leg & advancing the other
a little way as they put it down. They accompanied this with such a
soft air as at the beginning, but soon chang'd it to repeat sentences in
a harsher tone, at the same time quickening the dance very much till
they finish'd with a general shout and clap of the hands. The same
was repeated several times, but at last they form'd a double circle as
at the beginning, danc'd and repeated very quickly and finish'd with
several very dexterous transpositions of the two circles.

The last dance consisted of the same number of the principle people who were present and began nearly as the last, but their ending at each interval was different, for they increasd their motions to a prodigious quickness, shaking the head from shoulder to shoulder with such force that a person unnacustom'd to it would suppose they ran a risque of dislocating their neck. This was attended with a smart clapping of the hands and a kind of savage hollo or shriek not unlike what is sometimes practic'd by our lower sort of country people in their dances. They form'd the triple semicircle as the former had done, and a person who advanc'd at the head on one side began by repeating something in a truely musical recitative, deliver'd with an air so gracefull that might put to the blush our most applauded performers. He was answerd in the same manner by the person at the head of the opposite side, which being repeated several times the whole in one side joind in the responses to those of the other as they advanc'd slowly to the front, and they finish'd by singing and dancing as they had begun.

535 These two last dances met with universal approbation from the
533 spirit and exactness with which they were perform'd. The spectators
517 who were no doubt perfect judges of the propriety of the several parts
could not withhold their applauses at some particular ones, which
indeed might be observ'd by a stranger who never saw the diversion
before: for though through the whole the most strict concert was
observ'd it might be said that some of the motions absolutely spoke
the Language that accompanied them, if we allow there is any con-
535 nection between motion and sounds. At the same time it should be
533 observ'd that though the musick in the chorus and that of the dancers
correspond, yet constant practice seems to have a great share in
effecting the exact time they keep; for if any of them are accidentally
interrupted they never find the smallest difficulty in entering upon
any part of the dance or song, and their perfect discipline is no where
better shown than in the sudden transitions they make from the ruder
motions and harsh music to the soft airs and gentle motions.

The place where the dances were perform'd was in an open space amongst the trees just by the sea, with lights at small intervals in the inside of the circle. The concourse of people was pretty large though not equal to what assembled in the forenoon when the marines excercisd, at which time some of our Gentlemen guess'd there might be about five thousand, others a great many more and some fewer.

132 WEDNESDAY 21st. The wind W in the morning in fresh breezes with
cloudy weather and some rain, but afterwards clear with gentle
breezes from the Soward but at night brisker. This change of weather
seem'd to be indicated by the great heat for two days past and the
[439] Lightning to the westward last night. Few of the natives on board and
little trade for provisions carried on.

132 THURSDAY 22d. The wind Southerly. Gentle breezes with fine
weather. A good many Indians on board but little trade for provi-
439 sions. We confind two Indians for stealing
648 one of whom had a large wound on his cheek made with a boat hook
by one of our people who was sent in pursuit of them.

132 FRIDAY 23d. The wind SSW in the morning and afterwards SE.
Moderate breezes with fine weather. A good many Indians on board
439 who brought some fruit and hogs, of the last of which we have such a
634 number that we are oblig'd to salt them, and Feenou set out for
648 Va'vaoo this morning to bring another supply, perhaps to prevent
our going to Amsterdam which he is still averse to. The two Indians
648 were reliev'd on bringing a hog as a ransom, but their boat was

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349 some design and perseverance when they mean to accomplish any thing. It begins on one side as a narrow Causeway, which becoming gradually broader rises with a gentle ascent to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad and the whole length 74 paces. Joind to this is a sort of Circus or centre, whose diameter is thirty paces and not above a foot or two higher than the causeway, that joins it with some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side to the Causeway another of the same sort descends but is not more than forty paces long, and partly fallen down. The whole is built of large Coral stones with earth on its surface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and shrubs and from its decaying in several places seems of no modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly it seems to be of none now, and all that we could learn of it from the natives was that it belongd to Poulaho and is call'd E'tchee.[1]

649 648 644 576 The Captain brought Mareewagee and Too'bou on board to dinner and it was observ'd that these people, though of great rank, paid the usual mark of submission by bowing the head & touching the feet to a boy of twelve or fourteen[2] who is a son of Poulahos and is intended to succeed his father as king of the isles.

182 114 439 MONDAY 16th. The wind SE? Fresh breezes with cloudy weather till near the evening when it was more moderate and clearer. Our people employ'd as before and as we were at work in the hold examind some of the English bread which was found in very good condition. The trade for provisions not so brisk as formerly.

182 649 651 482 TUESDAY 17th. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine weather. In the morning when walking to the left of the tent we met several hundreds of the natives each carrying a pole with a small yam at both ends, and instead of these some had two or three bread fruit, which they carried to a large space that had been clear'd away before Mareewagees temporary hut, throwing them down and forming a large heap which they call'd Ha'paee[3] on each side. Several also brought a good many small fish stuck upon the points of the twigs of some wither'd branches which they carried in their hands, and laid down as an addition to the heaps. About eleven o clock they began 585 533 534 in the same clear space to exhibit various dances which they call Mai,[4] the music consisting at first of seventy men as a Chorus, who sat down and amongst them three instruments which we call'd Drums

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[1] An esi or 'rest mound'.

[2] The boy called Fatafehi Fuanunuiava.

[192] [3] 'api'api, crowded, full. It has nothing to do with the name of the island group. A road crowded with men, or a basket full of many things, would be called 'Api-api', says Mariner. Cf. Clerke's confusion, p. 108, n. 1 above.

[4] me'e.

though they have no resemblance to them. They are large cylindrical 535
pieces of wood or trunks of a tree from three to four feet long, some 533
twice as thick as an ordinary siz'd man and some smaller, hollow'd 534
entirely out but close at both ends, and open only by a narrow chink
about 3 inches broad running almost its whole length, by which the 534
rest is certainly hollow'd though it must be a difficult task. It is
calld Naffa,[1] and with the chink turn'd towards them they sit and
beat strongly upon it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood about
a foot long and as thick as the wrist, with which they produce a rude
though loud & powerfull sound. They vary the strength and rate of
their beating at different parts of the dance, and also change the
tones by beating in the middle or near the end of the instrument. The 535
first dance consisted of four ranks of twenty four men each, who held
in their hands a little thin light wooden instrument above two feet 293
long and in shape not unlike a small oblong paddle, which they call
Pagge.[2] With these they made a great many different motions, such as
pointing it towards the ground on one side, at the same time inclining
their bodys that way, from which it was shifted to the opposite side in
the same manner, then shifting it quickly from one hand to the other
and twirling it about very dexterously with a great variety of others,
all which were accompany'd by corrosponding attitudes of the body.
Their motions were at first slow but quicken'd as the drums beat 535
faster, and they recited sentences in a musical tone the whole time,
which were answer'd by the chorus but at the end of a short space 533
they all joind and finish'd with a shout. After ceasing two or three minutes they began as before, and continued with short intervals above a quarter of an hour, when the rear rank dividing shifted themselves very slowly round each end and meeting in the front form'd the first line, the whole still continuing to recite the sentences as before. The other ranks did the same successively till that which at first was the front became the rear, and they continued in the same manner till the last regaind its first situation. They then began a much quicker dance (though slow at first) and sung for about ten minutes, when the whole divided into two parts, retreated a little and then approach'd forming a sort of circular figure, which finish'd the dance, the drums and music going off the field at the same time.

The second had only two drums with forty men for a chorus, and [634]
the dancers or rather actors consisted of two ranks, the foremost
having seventeen the other fifteen, with Feenou at their head or in the middle of the front rank, which is the principal place in these cases.

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[1] *nafa.*

[2] *paki.*

535 They danc'd and recited sentences with some very short intervals for
533 about half an hour, sometimes quickly sometimes more slowly, but
with such a degree of exactness as if all the motions had been made by
one man, which did them great credit. Near the end the hind rank
divided, came round and took the place of the front as in the first
dance, which again resum'd its situation, and when they finish'd the
Drums and Chorus again went off.

[482] Three drums (which always took two, sometimes three men to
carry them) were brought in and seventy men sat down as a Chorus
[534] to the third dance, which consisted of two ranks of sixteen each with
[292] a chief nam'd Toobou (not the one mentiond before) at their head,
[287] who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment cover'd with red
feathers, an article much esteem'd here. These danc'd, sung and
twirl'd the Pagge as before, but in general much quicker and so well
535 that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion
chiefly approv'd was one in which they held their faces aside as if
293 asham'd & the Pagge before it. The hind rank clos'd before the first
and that again resum'd its place as at the other dances, but they
began again, form'd a triple row, divided, retreated to each end and
left the greatest part of the ground clear, on which two men enter'd
very hastily and excercis'd the clubs which they use in battle. They
did this by first twirling the club in their hands and making circular
strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so exactly
together that though standing quite close they never interfer'd. They
shifted them to the opposite hands with equal dexterity, and after
continuing a little time kneeld & made different motions, tossing the
club up in the air which they caught as it fell, and went off as hastily
535 as they entered. Their heads were cover'd with a piece of white cloth
292 tied at the crown almost like a night cap, with a wreath of foliage
round the forehead, but they had only a very small piece of cloth
made of thread almost like what our girls sow upon at school ty'd
about the middle, seemingly that they might be cool & free from any
535 incumbrance or weight. A person with a spear dress'd like the former
then came in, also in a hasty manner, & look'd about eagerly as if he
wanted some body to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of
the crowd in the front and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if
he meant to strike with it at one of them, bending the knee a little
and trembling as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only
a few seconds when he came quickly over to the other side and put
himself in the same posture at two of us who stood together, &
standing about the same time retreated from the ground as fast as he
had appear'd. The two partys of dancers, who had divided, kept

repeating something slowly all the time and now advanc'd and joind 535
again, ending with universal applause. It would seem they consider'd
this dance as one of their capital performances, if we might judge [634]
from some of the principal people being engag'd in it, for one of the [643]
drums was beat by Futta'faihe the brother of Poulaho, another by
Feenou, and a third which did not belong to the chorus often by [533]
Mareewagee at the entrance of his hut.

The last dance had forty men and two drums as a chorus. It 535
consisted of sixty men who had not danc'd before dispos'd in three 533
rows having 24 in front, but before this they had a pretty long
preleminary harangue in which the whole body answer'd a single [537]
person who spoke. They recited sentences (perhaps verses?) alternately with the chorus and made many motions with the Pagge in a very brisk mode, which were all applauded with Maree'ai and Fy'fogge, two different degrees of praise.[1] They divided into two bodys with their backs to each other, form'd again, shifted their ranks as in the others, divided and retreated, making room for two champions who excercis'd their clubs as before and after them two others, the dancers all the time reciting slowly in turn with the chorus, after which they advanc'd and finishd.

These dances, if they can properly be call'd so, lasted from eleven 535
to near three o clock, and though they were doubtless intended 541-
particularly either in honour to us or to show a specimen of what they consider their ne plus ultra in dexterity, there was a great number of their own people attended as spectators. Their numbers could not be computed exactly from the inequality of the ground, but by reckoning the inner circle and the number in depth, which was in many places between twenty and thirty, we suppos'd there must be near four thousand, while at the same time there was round the trading place at the tent and straggling about at least as many, so that we had about eight thousand people collected on this spot drawn together for the most part by mere curiosity.

It is with regret we cannot describe the language as well as manner 538
of these amusements, which would doubtless afford much information as to the genius and customs of these people. I have however [123]
observ'd that though the spectators always approve of the various motions when well made, a great part of the pleasure they receive seems to arise from the sentimental part, or what they deliver in Language; for before they enter on the scene of action they always spend a considerable time just at one side where they may be seen in

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[1] *malie*, 'good, splendid!'—*fai faki*, something like 'Carry on, do!' *Fai* is to do; *faki*, an intensive. Mariner says 'Fyfoki. Encore! as exclaimed at public assemblies'. [192]

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538 repeating sentences very softly but with little action, which is commonly one of the most applauded parts. At the same time the mere
[533] acting part independent of that is well worth our notice, both with respect to the extensive plan on which it is executed and the various motions, as well as the exact unity with which they are perform'd; though I did not observe that these were always regulated by the drums, which sometimes beat very quickly while these were slow, but the sentences they repeated or mode of their song constantly accorded with the motions. It has still one greater merit, which is that in most nations which we say are unciviliz'd these things are often instituted with an intention to raise and nourish many of the most mischievous passions, such as rage, an obstinate contempt of death, desire of revenge and others tending to the disquietude and destruction of mankind, wheras this to appearance inculcates the very reverse in every respect. Each motion is made in the gentlest manner, and without those violent efforts which argue an exertion of rage; every word that is spoke, though not understood, might from the manner of its delivery be suppos'd to convey a gentle love tale instead of inspiring rancorous sentiments or brutal ferocity; and every face instead of a sullen frown or distortions which raise terror wears an aspect so placid and benevolent that it is impossible to associate the idea of barbarity along with it.

535 At night we were entertain'd with the Bo'mai,[1] or night dances, on a space before Feenous temporary habitation. They lasted for about three hours, in which time we had about twelve different ones perform'd much after the same manner as those at Hapaee, but in two that were perform'd by women a number of men came and form'd a circle within theirs, and in another consisting of twenty four men there were a number of motions with the hands that we had not seen
[634] before which were highly applauded. The music was also once
[533] chang'd tonight and Feenou appeard at the head of fifty men who
[292] had danc'd at Ha'paee, in one well dress'd with linnen, a large piece
[301] of gauze and some pictures hung round his neck. But it was evident after the diversion was ended what inconvenience we had put these
519 good people to, or rather themselves, for being drawn together on this uninhabited spot numbers of them were oblig'd to lye down and sleep under the bushes, by the side of a tree or canoe; and many either lay down in the open air, which they are not fond of, or walk'd about all the night.

132 WEDNESDAY 18th. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with fine

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[1] *po me'e*, 'night of dancing'.

rains hard in the day they are guided by the swell of the sea & wind. 484
As another proof of the distance or at least of the stay they make at [502]
some places, they always carry a considerable quantity of Cloath,
matts &c and provisions, the last of which they dress on a sort of [821]
hearth made of sand & stones plac'd near the fore part of the stage. [252]
The number of people, amongst which are always several women,
being at least four times more than is sufficient to Navigate the Boat 505
implys some other business, though perhaps it may be for the relief of
each other: for here as in all other cases there seems to be such a 461
perfect unity amongst them that when they are oblig'd to paddle 533
from a calm or any other accident, the whole crew and rowers themselves
join in songs and a musical recitative to give an agreement to
their strokes and ease the irksomness of that unvaried labour.

The only tools they have to make these boats are Hatchets, or
rather thick Adzes, of the smooth black stone mentioned before (but 412
some want the projecting part behind), an augur made of a sharks 321
tooth fix'd on a small handle, and a rasp of a rough fishes skin laid 237
over & fastend on a flat piece of wood thinner on one side with a
handle. The vast labour they must be at and the time that is spent
with their [boats], being perhaps their most perfect mechanical 396
production, are probably the reasons for being so carefull of them, 348
for they are built and preserv'd under long shades of two sides which
reach to the ground & incline towards the top, so that the ends which
are both open represent a half ellipsis on its base; but when that
cannot be done they always cover the deck'd part with Cocoa leaves
after they are haul'd on shore to prevent the sun hurting them.

The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except
different shells which they use as knives, but there are few that 412
require these unless it is some of their weapons, the other articles [237]
being chiefly their fishing materials, cordage and a few others. The
Cordage is made from the fibres of the Cocoa nut husk, which though 283
not more than nine or ten inches long they plait about the size of a 824
quill or less to any length they please, & roll it up in balls from which
the larger rop[e]s are made by many of these being tied together and
twisted. The lines they fish with are made from the [1]
and are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it 226
almost in every respect. Their other things for that purpose are large [283]
and small hooks, made with a pretty straight back and a point fix'd
on the inside near the end. The last are made entirely of pearl shell,
but the first only coverd on the back with it, & the points of both [321]
commonly of tortoise shell, those of the small being plain the others [391]

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[1] Fou, not the *Melochia* but *Pipturus argenteus*, widely used for this purpose in the Pacific.

[1777]

226 barb'd. With the large ones they catch Bonneto & Albicore by put-
[321] ting them to a large Bamboo rod twelve or fourteen feet long, with a
[391] line as long, which rests in a notch of a piece of wood fix'd in the stern
[227] of the Canoe for that purpose, and is dragg'd on the surface as she
[824] rows along without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy stuff[1] near the
point. They have also great numbers of pretty small seines, some of
which are of a very delicate texture, that they use to catch fish with
[462] in the holes on the reefs when the tide ebbs, besides barb'd gigs which
[502] they strike some with, each of which are so numerous that shows
much of their time is employ'd in that business; & it is the only thing that can be reckon'd laborius where we find the women are sometimes engag'd, and where they handle the paddle as dexterously as the men.

534 The other manual employments consist chiefly in making musical
reeds, flutes, warlike weapons and stools or rather pillows[2] to sleep on.
[463] The reeds have eight, nine or ten pieces plac'd parallel to each other
but do not observe that simple progression in length as the ancient ,[3] having the longest sometimes in the middle &c and several of the same length, so that I have seen none with more than
[533] six notes. They seem incapable of playing any regular music on these,
at least not distinguishable by our ears, though it seems very strange they should invent an instrument whose powers they must certainly be acquainted with and not be able to apply it to use, at least not generally. The flutes are a joint of Bamboo close at both ends, with a hole near each and four others, two of which & one of the first only are us'd in playing.[4] They apply the Thumb of the left hand to close the nostril of that side and blow into the hole at one end with the other. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the first hole on that side and the fore finger of the right to the lowest of the same side. In this manner though the notes are only three, they produce a pleasing yet simple music which they vary much more than the notes would seem to admit of. Whether the other holes have any use in this case I am not certain, but one of their very evident intentions is to serve as a double flute, for the other two holes & that at the end are placd exactly in the same order as the others so that they play in-
533 differently with either end. Their being accustom'd to a music which
consists of such few notes is perhaps the reason why they do not seem
177 to relish any of ours, which is so complex, but they seem very sensible
of any that is more deficient than their own, as they us'd to be well

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[1] Teased out hibiscus bark would be so used.

[2] *kali*, pillows.

[3] Probably 'syrinx' was the word he was in search of. The Tongan name was *mimiha*.

[4] The *fangufangu*.

pleas'd with hearing the Heeva of our two young New Zeelanders 533
(from this change) which consists rather in mere strength than 177
melody of expression.

Their weapons are clubs & spears which cost them a good deal of
time & labour, the first being made of a solid piece of hard heavy 411
wood either black or brown, but chiefly that of the E'tóá tree. They [824]
are of various shapes but that they seem fondest of, & which they
always us'd in their public diversions, is one shap'd like a lance at the [293]
blade but a good deal broader in the middle.[1] These are commonly
plain, but a great number of the others which are somewhat quadrangular [531]
(except the handle) and broadest at the point are entirely
carv'd in that part with lines, little triangles & other figures, sometimes
with great nicety, and they frequently venture to make likenesses
of Fish, Birds & men fighting but are poor imitators in that
respect. The spears are made likewise of a hard brown or black wood [237]
(though sometimes from the Cocoa tree) from five & six to twelve feet
long or more, generally simply pointed but sometimes beset all round
with the ragged bones of the stingrays tail for a foot at the point.
They also make bows and arrows, the first near six feet long, slender
and neatly made with a groove for the reception of the arrow on its
back part. The last are almost as long, being only a reed with a blunt
wooden point which they only use to shoot birds with, but what is a
little uncommon the bow is bent and drawn contrary to the direction
of its natural curve. The stools are about two feet long but only four 322
or five inches high and near four broad, bending downwards in the 531
middle with four strong legs & circular feet, the whole made of one
piece of black or brown wood neatly polishd & sometimes inlaid with 237
bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory[2] after
being neatly carv'd, and make small figures of men, birds and other
things from bone, which must be very difficult as their carving
instrument is only a Sharks tooth.

The floors of their houses are always coverd with a very coarse 352
kind of matt made from the Cocoa leaf as taken from the tree without 285
any preparation. They sit upon these cross legg'd, a posture they are
so accustom'd to that they cannot do the smallest thing without being [516]
in it. The better sort have often a finer matt to sit on, & the same is
us'd as a bed with a stool under their heads when they go to sleep and 513
a covering of the pieces of cloth they wear. Men, women & children 352
lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a 285

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[1] The foregoing sentence seems to be describing a spear, *tao*, the next one the clubs, *akau*, even though in the one next succeeding Anderson reverts to spears. Both were made of Toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[2] Again whale tooth ivory, Tongan *lei*.

264 wash their hands with a piece of the plantane tree broke and rubb'd
515 over them, the husk of the cocoa nut or any thing that has moisture,
which serves on all occasions and is a lesson necessity (from the
scarcity of water) has certainly taught them.

The situation of their houses was mention'd before; but notwith-
517 standing their method of life requires they should be much scatterd,
361 that each man may cultivate his own ground, they are very fond of
associating together, so that it is common to find several houses
empty and the owners conven'd in some other one or a convenient
spot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themselves by
533 conversing and other amusements. Their private diversions are
[535 chiefly singing, dancing and music perform'd by the women. When
[517 one, two or three or more women sing in concert & snap the fingers
it is calld oo'bai,[1] but when there is a great number they divide into
several partys each of whom sings on a different key which makes a
[535 very agreeable music and is call'd Heeva. In the same manner they
vary the music of their flutes by playing on those of a different size,
535 but their dancing is much as when they perform publickly. The
dancing of the men (if it is to be call'd dancing) although it does not
consist much in moving the feet as we do, has a thousand different
motions with the hands to which we are entire strangers. They seem
to be as numerous as all the steps in our different dances taken
together, & perform'd with an ease and grace which is not to be
[868 describ'd, nor conceiv'd but by those who have seen them. It appears
indeed to be one of the principal articles of their education, for the
boys when very young are constantly practising them and at no great
526 age perform them as dexterously as those that are grown up. There
are some others which may be calld their house diversions practic'd
by the grown people, one of which nam'd Kaka'habo[2] is exactly upon
the same principle as our Cup and ball. It is done by fastening a bit
of Tortoise shell, four inches long & one broad with the ends turn'd
up above an inch & fork'd, across the end of a small rod about four
feet long, near the other end of which a small round gourd shell is
fix'd with a string just of a sufficient length to allow its being thrown
into the tortoise shell. They also fasten the hard round seed of a plant
larger than a musket ball to each end of a string about two feet long,

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[1] *'upe*. The word has changed its meaning, being now equivalent to 'lullaby'. But it must always have had a wide significance: Mariner says (II, p. 217) '*Oobe*. This kind of singing is always accompanied with the *fango-fango*, (or nose-flute). The subjects of the song are much the same as those last described, but the style of music is different, being more monotonous and grave.' The songs 'last described' were 'descriptive of scenery . . . descriptive of past events, or of places which are out of their reach, such as *Bolotoo* and *Papalangi*.'

[2] Mariner calls the game 'habo', and says it was practised by women only. *Hapohapo* is to keep on throwing something up and catching it.

idiot, nor is his sister of a common disposition.[1] He is the very person 643 who was seen in 1773 when Captⁿ Cook visited the island, and whose 644 strange behaviour could not then be accounted for though it was 158 evident his rank was great.

From the number of weapons found amongst them there is little doubt but they sometimes engage in war, though in all probability it 721 is mostly of the defensive kind, as the greatest part of the islands they know have been conquerd by them and now form part of their dominion, so that the only enemys they have to contend with are those of Feejee which seems but seldom. This is the more probable as 648 from the time of the islands being first discoverd they have never appear'd arm'd when they came to visit strangers, and when they brought their weapons it was only to traffic with them—a circumstance seldom found amongst Indian nations perpetually at war, who always part with their arms rather reluctantly; yet when they are engag'd it is scarcely to be doubted but they are brave though their disposition seems to incline them at all times to peace, the arts of which they are more industrious to cultivate than those of war, and from the examples we have seen it may be judg'd they are dexterous enough at using their weapons. Their good sense however informs them that they are unable to cope with those whose art has furnish'd them with superior arms, which seems to be the case with respect to us without having ever put it to the test, for we must not ascribe their fear of us at any time to a pusillanimity or cowardice which we have no reason to charge them with. On the contrary they seem not insensible that without our arms and with equal numbers they would over match us, but the dread annex'd to the idea of the effect of fire arms or indeed other missile weapons staggers them; for they are in no less fear of the inhabitants of Feejee, who they say fight them with bows and arrows.

Their Language has the greatest affinity imaginable to that of New 197 Zeeland, of Wateeoo, and Mang'ya and consequently to that of OTaheite and its neighbouring isles. There are also many words the same as in the vocabulary of Cocos island at the end of Dalrymples collection of voyages. The mode of pronounciation differs indeed considerably in many cases from that of the first place, but a great number of words are exactly the same. It is sufficiently copious and [533] we have had many proofs of its being easily adapted to all musical

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[1] On the two preceding sentences see (to avoid too much repetition) Cook, p. 178, n. 6 above. It was quite wrong to say that the Tu'i Lakepa was 'a person of no rank in his own country'. The succession of the Tu'i Tongas was certainly in general from father to son. Anderson was right in guessing that rank was a separate thing from power; but wrong in thinking that in the context 'madness' might be relevant.

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desired they might fire at an empty Canoe which lay upon the Beach 648
at the Distance of about 100 yards. The marines fired at it several 648
times but when the Indians run to examine it they found only one 177
ball had hit it, but that having gone through each side was sufficient
to convince them that it would be rather imprudent to stand in its
way. Presently, after the Marines had withdrawn, about a hundred 648
Indian Warriors in battle array made their Appearance with Phenow 648
at their Head, each bearing a small weapon in his hand about 2 feet 541
long, very slender & of the shape of a spade, they seemed to use them [713]
instead of Clubs like we do Foils in fencing. They were drawn up in a
regular Line three deep with two Drums beating in front. They began [533]
their Exercise by twirling their Instruments slowly according to the
Measure beat on the Drums, several of the Chiefs at the same time
singing in a gentle deep Cadence & lifting up their Legs & inclin[in]g
their Heads & Bodies to each Side alternately, keeping exact time;
by degrees the Drum and the Song grew louder & quicker, which
was accompany'd by their Movements which at last became violent
to a great degree; they ran backwards & forwards the rear Rank
being sometimes in the front and the front in the rear. After continuing
these maneuvres some time there ensued a Pause; then they
began again in a slow measure and went through the several Degrees
of quickness as before, & thus repeated the same Exercise several
times. It was observ'd that Phenow, who appeared to be their [634]
General, was always at the beginning of their Exercise in the center
of the front rank, but by the Course of their different Evolutions he [701]
was sometimes in the rear Rank & in the Wing of that rank, so that
there did not seem to be any fixed Station for their Leader, nor was
he distinguished from the rest by his weapon or any other Mark of
Eminency. Every one seemed to perform the same Duty without any
Advantage over his fellow warriors but what was to be derived from
bodily Strength or superior Skill. To us who could hardly seperate [887]
the Idea of Decrepitude & weakness from old age, it was matter of
peculiar Delight & admiration to behold the Vigour & activity of the
old Men, who in performing their military Exercise were not to be
distinguished from the young ones any otherwise than by their grey
Locks and venerable Countenances. Once or twice while a Pause
was made in their Exercise a Man advanced in the front of the line
with a Club in his Hand, who jumped and turned about as quick as
possible, brandishing his Club & twirling it about in a strange &
violent Manner, this he continued for about a Minute and then
retired to his Rank. Perhaps on the day of battle his office may be like
the Champions of old to challenge the opposite Party to single

which they were thrown when the Sky Rockets were let off; the 648
immense Height they flew to struck them no less forcibly than seeing
fire burn in water, but when the Baloons went off with a horrid 177
Explosion close to their Ears it was hard to say whether their Terror
or Surprize was greater. Some of them cryed out 'Matte matte' (ie)
that they should be killed & begged that we would put a Stop to
every thing, but presently something less terrible drew their Attention;
their applause and admiration were expressed by a continual
Roar during the whole Exhibition. Some of our attention was
drawn off the Fire works to observe the various Passions with
which the poor Indians were agitated, they certainly could not
have expressed greater Wonder if angels had descended among
them in a Storm of Thunder & Lightening, for to them one seem'd
as miraculous as the other possibly could. In short every thing
appeared to them like Enchantment, what they saw before their
Faces they could hardly believe to be real but as something delusive
raised by the Power of Magic. Upon the whole they were played off
with good Effect & admirably calculated to raise Terror & Surprize
among them who never saw such things before.

When the fireworks were over another Entertainment was prepared 648
for us by the Indians which consisted of Dances by the Men &
Women. A large Ring was formed by the Natives, those in the inner 541
circle sitting all round it; at proper distances sat five or six Men 535
holding Lights in their Hands, which were bundles of dry Sticks [372]
burning at one end & these required constant trimming. A Band of
Music consisting of four or five Performers was placed at one part, 648
one beat very briskly with two sticks upon small Reeds of Bamboo
Cane, the others had large Canes about 2 yards long open at one end 541
& the other they beat slowly against the Ground, accompanying it 535
with their Voices in which they were joined by many others in the 533
ring; this accompanyment consisted of a Monotone made by repeating [534]
the double o three times, as thus o͞o-o͞o-o͞o, the last tone being
drawn out longer than the preceding. This, the only vocal music,
was repeated the whole time in concert with the Instruments, if they
may be called such, & all together formed a plaintive Melody which
was not disagreeable. The music was no sooner begun than there 648
advanced into the Ring with a measured Step a Female elegantly 541
dressed with a Chaplet of Flowers on her Head. She was soon followed
by near a dozen more dressed in the same manner who all joined 535
together and formed the Dance. It consisted in moving in couples [301]
briskly round the ring, springing up & clapping their Hands all
together, throwing them by their sides, clapping one hand to the

648 head the other to their waist, then wriggling their backsides in a
541 lascivious manner, springing up again & repeating the same motions.
Then dividing in equal numbers, retreating back, then running
535 forwards & meeting, all the time repeating a Song & frequently
[533] looking upward towards the Sky. They continued dancing about a
quarter of an Hour & then went out of the Ring & were succeeded
by a new sett. It was universally allowed that their Dancing was very
beautiful & striking & much exceeding any thing of the kind that had
been seen among other Indians, & being performed by candle light
[431] had altogether a most pleasing Effect. As they withdrew each Nymph
took the Chaplet of Flowers off her head & bestowed it upon her
favourite Swain which no doubt was esteemed as a Mark of her
peculiar Grace; many of them had the Politeness to offer them to some
of our Gentlemen & they were accepted with Pleasure as marks of
their particular Favour.

When two or three Setts had thus entertained us they were
648 succeeded by a party of Men whose Performance was not much unlike
541 that of the Women, except their entering into a kind of Dialogue
536 which we regretted that we did not understand, as it contained
frequent strokes of Wit & humour, if we might judge from the loud
[522] bursts of laughter echoing round us; they were composed of two
Parties, an elderly person from each side meeting at the Head of their
band & entering into a dialogue accompanyed with many shrewd
Gestures. This may be called a kind of Dramatic Entertainment, tho'
there did not seem to be any marked or different Character in it like
648 those in the same Species of Exhibition at the Society Isles. When they
had retired a Company of young women came into the ring & sat
541 down looking rather dejected. This unusual Appearance led us to
expect some new Entertainment, & we were not kept long in
Suspence before a Scene truly novel tho' not very entertaining was
exhibited. A Man came into the ring & without any Ceremony
advanced to one of the Girls who immediately bowed down her head
& presented her back in an advantageous position, upon which he
laid as heavy [a] blow as he could with both hands open & then
proceeded to the next, & so on till he came to the last but two, when
for what reason it is difficult to say, instead of striking her on her
back he gave her a blow with all his Force on her naked Breasts
which struck her backwards. Upon this a Man who was sitting in the
ring jumped up & knocked him down, he took it in good part &
walked off without uttering a syllable. To see this unmerciful Beadle
punished was no small Pleasure to us all, as it was really more than
we could well bear to be inactive Spectators of so many beautiful

Spectators. The Indians are divided into two Parties, the Wrestlers 526
go out from each Side one, two, or three as it happens. The Wrestling
is generally introduced by the Boys of ab^t 6 or 7 years old, & is then 648
taken up by older ones & so on till the old men themselves are at last 541
engaged, tho' they seldom make their appearance till the boxing is [177]
introduced, where more Manhood & Skill is required. He who goes
out first gives a formal Challenge to all round by laying the left Arm [201]
across the Breast & striking it hard with the right hand open, which
gives a smart Sound; as he continues to do this he runs with a [292]
moderate pace up & down the Circle, and if no one comes out to
answer the Challenge which is performed in the same manner, he
continues it till he arrives at the place from whence he set out & then
takes his seat, but it seldom happens that he does not meet with an
Opponent; when they close they lay hold of each other by a platted
Girdle which they put on for this purpose. In general the Contest is
but short; when it is ended both the Victor and vanquished rise & [643]
pay their respects to Powlohow by sitting down before him cross [576]
legg'd & touching his feet with their Heads, after which they return
to their respective Sides. He that is conquered retires silently, while
the other as he goes off repeats the Challenge and is received by his [538]
Party with a Song of Triumph, which is repeated very loud in a kind
of recitative; the Words are 'Too way Hey O mār tō yo ē',[1] the first
word is sung by a single person & the rest in full Chorus by the
Party to which the Conqueror belonged. A Continuance of the
Exercise excites their Emulation & the young Men grow impatient
for the lists, this sometimes brings on half a dozen matches at
once, which when those who seemed to sit as Judges & Conductors
of the Games perceived they put a stop to them by introducing the
Boxing.

The first step taken in this Exercise is to bind the clenched fist 526
with a small Chord so that it cannot be opened; this done, he who gives the Challenge goes out & with a kind of a half jump & half hop advances slowly & with a becoming Carriage from one end of the ring to the other, & instead of the form used to challenge at wrestling, he brandishes his fists, collects & dilates his body into several kinds of guards & attacks, which he continues till his antagonist shews himself at the other end of the Circle & advances to meet him, who comes on with the same parade and Gestures as the other; they loose no time, they just put themselves in a posture of defence and the attack

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[1] *Tu'u ai he 'o mou tu e*, 'Stand up and shout hurrah', an expression still current at weddings [585]
and other festive gatherings. The lengthening and distortion of vowels in a shouted
recitative would account for the peculiarities of Samwell's version.

[1777]

512 They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or
[515] in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring &
533 sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked
yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked
276 yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes
574 the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water
264 with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk,
262 not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are
271 served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often
brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a
272 dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa
565 nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will
264 employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing
262 material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in
252 Capt^{n} Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play
upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before
171 their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which
533 they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young
521 men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors.
The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious
535 Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a
day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the
[226] Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures
others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the
Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work
351 about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appear-
417 ance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of
Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the
inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality
361 of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa
342 nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small
362 & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong
square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the
ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the
Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are
352 quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest
by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them,
& these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally
[415] to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their
[411] Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

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[1] *kali.*

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192

presently	anai
now	anai-eenee
Co-haiia?	What's this
Mogoo doogoobe	a Gift or to give
Stone	Phee-emooa
white	Heena
red	goola
black or blue	ooree
Here	enee
sit down	anofo
below	lalo
to look	dugeedooa
Raw	oda-mada
Ripe	mo-moho
many	loogoodangalahee
a few	loogoodangajee
Cold	anoofea
Hot	vela
high	fooa
to kiss	oomma
well done	Maree-eh
Thank you	manoo
Come here	Haw
Go away	Aroo
I have none	Ogooi-cai

Make me a present	mai mea mogoo
go & bring it	aroo-omai
to come again	be-haw-aw
to smell	manava
Yes!	ee-o
No!	ekai
I	aw
You	coi
He	ee-e
Give or reach me	mai
Let me see	momada
Beads	Ha-howa
To trade	Fu-kattaw
to give	Fu-kafatai
Venereal Disease	Pabanga
to cut	Daffa
a term of disapprobation in common use among them	ee-sah
Sick	mahagee
well or in health	Mo-ooi

1 2 3 4
Taha ewa doroo fa
5 6 7 8
neema ono feedoo varoo
9 10
eiva ongofooroo

N. One of the following Lines the Girls frequently sing at the same time smacking the Finger and Thumb together 533

Doo seea sau neea daw fai ojee-mai 539

Sooee la soo-ee, ĕh langeemai langee-ĕh

Edoomelageea fucatabageea langeed-emelama langeedōdō

The following words they repeat in their common Dances [535]

Aina fogee aina fogee &c

These Words the Men sung altogether on approaching the Ship in their large Sailing Canoes [648]

Edareeăh edagōdò &c [609]

These monosyllables they use in hoisting the Sail of the Canoe as a direction for all to exert their Force together [461]

ee ō yă ĕh &c

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[1777]

192 Tāmà, or Jānà, is an appellation they use in calling to a person, the same as we do: You Sir! Friend. &c.

wei seuge! a note of Admiration

wooi! wooi! wooi! Astonishmᵗ

533 They have Songs of a considerable length of which the following is one

539 Offa geeva vaw / manadoo leva / edoodogamai / anobooboo / monooanaleva / wisaogee / fucabȯė / dooiarafadee / caw aroo aw / eida feeda hala / manoo goo ma anoo / geeodoffa / oomea seuge / fucaboe tooihara fadai / edoai / naihehea / gonoogoomanoo / gadoogooangee / dadooadoroo / movawdoodeffa / leegooȧė / geedagagavėȧ / enengala / pabaivagadea / oobebea /

N. The Words contained in each division is one Stave at the end of which there is a small stop.

Another song begins Feneedangeeloi / mabo-foojee &c (Maphee's Song).[1]

565 As to the Religion of these people we know nothing about it, & the same may be said of their Government, only this that it seems to be 771 quite arbitrary; it was observable that the common People stood in more awe of their Chiefs than the Otaheiteans, and that at Public 171 Meetings they were kept in good order & every thing conducted with greater regularity than at that Island, which undoubtedly is 782 owing to the great Command the Chiefs have over them. On solemn Occasions they offer up human Sacrifices at these Islands, which are selected from the common People by the Chiefs who kill them with their own Hands.

122 JULY 3ʳᵈ. Having procured wood & Water and a Plentiful Supply of Provisions we are making preparations for leaving the Island; this Morning we sailed out of the Harbour and at eleven o'Clock we anchored without the reef that makes the north part of the Harbour. 648 Captⁿ Cook made many Presents to the Chiefs among which were to Powlohow, a Horse and a Mare to Phenow, Sheep to Malawaggee.

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[1] Though in the preceding examples of the language a number of Samwell's individual words can be disentangled, it is extremely difficult to get sense out of his connected phrases, and no attempt at their translation is here made. One exception will be enough to illustrate the difficulty: his 'Aina fogee aina fogee &c' (words repeated in 'their common Dances') may very likely stand for *ai nofo ki, ai nofo ki*, 'Keep it up this way, keep it up this way'—a natural encouragement to movement. Some Tongan scholar should certainly apply his ingenuity to the problems involved.

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

175 able, upon account of the various Isles and reefs (which are delineated in the Survey) that a good deal interrupt and impede your Navigation;
175 however we anchor'd off them very well on the 17 Instant. Here we likewise found our friend Feenow, Lord of all, and he certainly did behave in
634 a very friendly, liberal manner, making us large Presents of Hogs, Yams
609 &c, for which, tho' he was ever amply rewarded, still I give him Credit, for it certainly has a more generous and social appearance than that of absolute bargaining.

[177] On the 20th Instant by his desire the Party of Marines from both Ships were taken on shore and exercised before him and his Court; they seem'd much pleas'd at their various Maneuvres, and perfectly happy at their
175 Entertainment. As soon as our People had done, Feenow with about an hundred of his principal Men got up and in return gave us a dance (what
609 they call a heavah) to the Tune of their Drums, and some Men who set
535 round the Drummers, at the same time singing; the Dancers all join'd in
[533] the vocal Musick and accompanied their bodily Movements with those of a light wooden Implement between 2 & 3 feet in length (the form as in
[293] the Margin)[1] which they have for this Purpose. The amazing exactitude of their various Motions, both with this implement and every joint of their Body, and the perfect Time in their musick surpass'd every thing I had the least Idea of; their motions were infinitely more uniform than any Com-
[292] pany of Soldiers I ever saw exercise in my Life. They were decorated upon this Occasion, with Cloth of various Colours, which set off their Persons, that were by Nature exceeding good, to much Advantage; this with the perfect regularity of their motions gave them a most striking and pleasing
175 Appearance. The Evening concluded with Fireworks, with which Capt Cook treated them: they were exceedingly amaz'd at the extraordinary
177 revolutions of the Water Rockets in the Water; this must appear to them indeed most wonderfull, that two of the most opposite Elements in Nature, shou'd, for such a length of Time, seemingly act in conjunction.

175 Feenow during our Stay here treated us with many Heavah's and Amusements of various kinds; some perform'd by Women, these were
609 generally in the Evening after Sunset; but we were very well illumin'd by
535 burning the dry'd Leaf of the Palm Tree and some ribs of the Coco Nut
[372] Leaf, on which was stuck Nuts containing an oily Substance, which infusing itself into the Stalk and communicating the Oil as it melted from one to the other, gave a light by no means inferior to our Candles. The
[292] Ladies were peculiarly attir'd for these Exhibitions in various colour'd robes, in which they look'd very gracefull and beautifull; they perform'd to the Musick of Drums and singing, were perfectly regular in their Motions, which however were to us altogether novel, curious & laughable; the seeing us laugh'd and pleased contributed much to their festivity and every thing was conducted with the utmost good humour and Cordiality.
175 If there [was] such a Sensation as Anxiety felt among the Group, it was in
609 the vying of the Performers and Spectators which shoul'd most emphati-

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[1] There is no drawing in the margin. The 'instrument' was the *paki*.

or concepts is in a round-about way. This value is further exemplified in the poetry, 535
for the words do not necessarily tell the meaning of the poem. Thus the dance 538
creates a double abstraction—the movements allude to the words while the words [181]
allude to the hidden meaning.

The poetry is a series of concepts and references. Theoretically, these allusions 538
should be readily recognizable in a homogeneous society such as Tonga, where the 184
people have a common cultural tradition, and the poetry is written with the view
that only allusions are necessary and the meaning is clear. In fact, however, only a
few people, who are usually other poets, claim to understand the allusions with
their mythological and genealogical references.

To illustrate these allusive qualities of *lakalaka* poetry I shall use as an example 539
a *lakalaka* from Lapaha, Mu'a, Tongatapu. Lapaha was the former capital of [128]
Tonga and the traditional home of the most exalted line of Tongan rulers, the
Tu'i Tonga. The people of Lapaha are known for their dancing and their knowl-
edge of the sacred and legendary lore of Tonga. The poetry (*ta'anga*) of this [643]
lakalaka was composed about 1948 by the late Queen Salote Tupou III, who was a
descendant on her mother's side of the Tu'i Tonga line. The melody (*fasi*) and [533]
dance movements (*haka*) were created by Vili Pusiaki of Lapaha. This *lakalaka* [535]
alludes to the legendary Tongan turtle named Sangone, but the story of Sangone is not told because it is assumed that everyone already knows the story. In fact, the tale of Sangone is only suggested in the poetry by eight lines which are a riddle that was used by a Tongan chief to find the shell of Sangone after it was buried in Samoa. The object of the poetry, however, hidden in allusions, symbols, and metaphors, is to trace the genealogy and praise the deeds and accomplishments of Tupou I, progenitor of the present line of kings—the throne now being held by Tupou IV.

The story of the turtle Sangone has been published by E. W. Gifford.[2] To summarize the main points, Hina of the underworld and a Samoan lived together in Tonga for a long time. When the Samoan wanted to visit his relatives in his homeland, Hina gave him her mother, a turtle named Sangone, to carry him home. Hina told him that the first thing he must do on his arrival in Samoa was to get a coconut-leaf mat and a bunch of coconuts for Sangone to bring back to Tonga. The Samoan did not do as he was told but went off to visit his relatives. The townspeople cooked Sangone and buried her shell in a hole. A boy named Lafai who saw where they buried Sangone was told that he would remain small (*pana*) and on the day that Sangone was found he would die.

When the story reached Tonga that Sangone's shell was buried in Samoa, the King of Tonga sent his brother, Fasi'apule, with a party to look for Sangone's shell. When they arrived in Samoa, they were served the customary *kava* (a ceremonial drink made of an infusion of the root of *Piper methysticum*). Fasi'apule, speaking in riddles that the Samoans did not understand, asked for several items. The people asked Lafaipana, who by this time was quite old but still a boy in appearance, to interpret the riddles. He knew the references, and Fasi'apule's requests were granted. Fasi'apule then sent for Lafaipana and asked him where Sangone was buried. After Lafaipana had showed the Tongan party the place he asked for a "perch for his pigeon" before they dug up Sangone. Fasi'apule, not understanding that this was a riddle, sent his men to get a perch for a pigeon.

CHAPTER VII

DANCE GENRES

535 The highest level of structure in Tongan dance is that of whole dances. In Chapter I a Tongan dance was defined as a totality in which the structural elements have a standardized chronological order. The Tongans recognize six genres or types of Tongan dance and each has a different combination of structural elements.

The kinemic and morphokinemic levels of dance structure were stated mainly in terms of movement contour with little reference to music, text, or timing. Even motifs were stated almost entirely in terms of movement. At this higher level of organization the differentiation of Tongan dance genres depends on three factors
535 external to movement as well as movement itself. Type of music, the
533 association of poetry, and the occasion of performance influence
538 movement and must be taken into account when whole dances are considered. All four elements are also necessary to understand the role of the dance in Tongan society.

This explanation of Tongan dance structure will briefly consider
535 all four elements for each of the six genres. Besides those to be
[177] discussed here, other dance types exist in Tonga but they are recognized as not Tongan; these are *kailao*, *eke* (*soke*), *mako*, *meke faka-Fisi*, and are said to have come from Uvea and Fiji. Ancient dance forms that are no longer performed such as *liku*, *me'elaufola*, *me'etafoa*, *me'etaki*, or *hea* will not be discussed; nor will the

[p. 239]

535 *tau faka-Niua* which is a dance local to Niuafo'ou that I have never seen.

The six genres that will be discussed are all still performed today in Tonga. *Lakalaka*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, and *tau'olunga* are 'living' dance genres--that is, they are still created today, and are known to all Tongans. *Fa'ahiula* and *ula* are quite widely known, though by no means universally, especially not to the younger generation. Although sometimes re-choreographed there are no new creations within these genres. The *me'etu'upaki* is an ancient dance type known only by a select few. It is neither created nor re-choreographed today, but performed only as it has been passed down from generation to generation. I have called these last three genres 'dead but extant' because they are still performed but no longer created.

535 All Tongan dance is performed in conjunction with poetry.
538 Dances without poetry--for example, the *kailao* which is said to have
[177] come from Uvea--are recognised as not Tongan. Although at times
535 there may be instrumental music only--for example during a *tau'olunga*,
533 --it is understood that the text was there originally and that the music was derived from accompanying poetry. Thus, instrumental music can be said to be 'wordless' or 'nonvocalised' poetry. However, some genres have a prelude consisting of *haka* and drumming only.

535 Phrases[1] of poetry are the basis for music and dance movement.
538 The combining of morphokines and motifs is always determined by the
[539] phrase of poetry. Whole dances are built with poetry phrases as their
basic units and even when the movements do not interpret the words,
they follow the phrase structure of the poetry. Phrases are combined
into groups, which here will be termed stanzas.[2] Stanzas are
recognised by the Tongans to have a definite beginning and end.

535 *FA'AHIULA*

Fa'ahiula is an ancient women's sitting dance. *Fa'ahi* means 'two sided' and *ula* is a different dance genre. However, *fa'ahiula* does not simply mean an *ula* done by two groups, because *ula* is a standing dance and has other differences from *fa'ahiula*. *Ula* and *fa'ahiula* are similar in that they use the same type of arm movements and the same type of music. *Fa'ahiula* is also called *'otu haka* which means 'row of *haka*' (arm movements).

Fa'ahiula is performed by a single row of seated women. The women are usually elderly or a mixture of young and old, but usually not exclusively young girls or young women. The row is usually curved,

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[1] 'Phrase' is used in this paper to mean a short group of words which conveys a single thought. It is used instead of 'line' because most of the poetry exists only in oral tradition.

[2] 'Stanza' is used in this paper as a neutral term to designate a group of two or more phrases; it does not imply that these sub-sections or sections have the same melody or the same number of phrases.

535 although a modern innovation is to form a wide angled 'V'. The
535 musicians sit inside the curved row of dancers. Traditionally the
533 associated music consisted of singing and beating on a *tafua*, that is,
[534] a mat which had bamboos rolled inside. The *tafua* was struck with
[178] two sticks to establish the pulse for the singing and *haka*. Today the
fa'ahiula is often performed without *tafua* percussion.

535 The singing, however, is not dispensible, because in many cases
533 the movements are really an accompaniment to poetry. Melodic pitch
538 range is quite small and the pulse organisation[3] is often 4 or 8. In some cases there are several phrases with 8 pulses followed by a phrase with a different number of pulses. Singing is done by the dancers and those who beat the *tafua*. Sometimes men and women will sit behind the performers and sing, but they are not a necessary part of the performance.

535 The dancers sometimes divide physically into two or more groups
533 (*fa'ahi*) which sing alternately or polyphonically, and their movements
538 also differ. Much of the poetry of the *fa'ahiula* has been handed
[177] down from generation to generation and is no longer understood. In
[829] such cases the Tongans rationalise that the words are Samoan, which is
the usual explanation of something that the Tongans do not know.

There are three types of structure of *fa'ahiula* poetry. The first type has one standard phrase repeated alternately with each of

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[3] 'Pulse organisation' is used in this paper to avoid implications of the Western concept 'meter.'

535 pāpātenga motif. During the tau interludes the movements interpret
536 the poetry. The two examples in my collection tell legends.

536 The third type of fa'ahiula is divided into stanzas, each of which may be different in length, melody and movement. This third type can be said to be through-composed. To illustrate this type, I will use an example known as "Si sia si sia." This fa'ahiula is divided temporally into three sections. It is divided spatially into two groups. During the first section the two groups sing different phrases alternately; during the second the two groups sing together; and during the third they sing a round. See Table 3.

Present-day Tongans are unable to translate the poetry of this
535 fa'ahiula. The movements have been passed down from generation to generation and are performed as learned without intentional change or re-choreographing. Other fa'ahiula have been composed in the past 100 years and could be re-choreographed today by a dance specialist, such as Vaisima Hopoate, who understands the words and knows how to add the haka. Some of these recent fa'ahiula were said to have been composed by his paternal grandfather. I do not know of any fa'ahiula that Vaisima has re-choreographed. Instead, he uses the movements he learned from his father. However, he said that he could add haka to some fa'ahiula where he has forgotten the movements.

The Tongan view of the structure of fa'ahiula is that first there is a section of haka to draw attention of the spectators before the
535 main part of the haka begins. This section has movements such as pasi,
533 fu, and pāpātenga, and may be performed without singing. Or this

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

535 section may be singing only with no *haka*. The second section then
539 relates a story through singing and *haka*. The example given above
535 conforms to this norm, however, not all in my collection do. It may
be that I do not have the entire composition, or that it would be
understood by Tongans that the first part should be included.

The *fa'ahiula* cannot be said to be a living dance type because
no new creations are added to the repertoire today. Few people are
familiar with the *fa'ahiula* and only a very limited number of women
535 perform it. This is in part due to historical circumstances that
795 associated this dance, along with the *ula* and *me'etu'upaki*, with the
[649] Tu'i Tonga line of kings, their village Lapaha, and the Catholic
[644] Church. The *fa'ahiula* was preserved and used by the Catholic Church.
Dances of this type were composed using Catholic concepts and performed
at Catholic gatherings.

535 The performance of *fa'ahiula* today is almost exclusively at
794 gatherings of the Catholic Church, for example, at feasts or entertainments
for visiting Catholic dignitaries; at the end of year
exercises of the Catholic school; or if either the Catholic school
or the village of Lapaha are requested to dance at a concert entertainment.
The girls of the Catholic high school performed a group of
fa'ahiula at the end of year ceremonies in 1963 and they were asked to
do them again at an entertainment for the Pan Pacific Women's
Conference in 1964 by Princess Mata'aho who arranged the program.
[872] *Fa'ahiula* are also performed at money raising programs of the Catholic

535 ULA

[171] Ula is an ancient women's standing dance. Ula is probably the same word as hula in Hawaiian and we can postulate that ula and its sitting variant, fa'ahiula, were early Polynesian dance forms. Ula uses the same haka that is used in the fa'ahiula. The Tongans consider the two genres closely related, and I was told that the reason one could borrow movements from the other was that they are tokoua'aki, 'related like siblings of the same sex,' which implies reciprocal borrowing.

Ula is performed by 2, 4, 6, or 8 women (or occasionally today
[562] as a solo), one half entering the dance space from each side. It
[561] should be performed by young women, but today not many young women
are skilled in the ula, so middle age women perform it. Informants say that traditionally the fa'ahiula was performed by the older women and then a number of young women performed in front of the seated kau fa'ahiula, 'dancers of fa'ahiula,' who then became the singers, kau langi, for the ula.

535 The small melodic intervals of the ula are quite similar to the
● 533 fa'ahiula. The pulse organization of the ula usually has 6 pulses
535 rather than 4 or 8 as in the fa'ahiula. In contrast to fa'ahiula,
562 the ula does not interpret the words, instead ula is more important
for beauty of movement and displaying the beauty and dignity of women
[561] and their movements. One reason young women should do this dance is
that it is they who are beautiful.

535 The poetry of the *ula* is not very important for movement, except
538 for the length of the phrase. Although words are always associated, it
533 is not imperative to the dancer that they be sung. As a case in point,
when practicing *ula*, if we were tired of singing we would stop singing
and carry on with only the beating. During a practice of *fa'ahiula*
we couldn't stop singing because our movements had to follow the words,
even though we didn't understand what we were saying. The structure
of an *ula* is a single stanza consisting of two phrases, repeated over
and over. Thus, the text phrase structure is $t^1\ t^2\ t^1\ t^2\ t^1\ t^2\ t^1$, etc.,
while the stanza structure is simply A A A A etc. Sometimes the
first phrase of the stanza is sung by the chorus of singers, and the
535 second phrase of the stanza is sung by the dancers or vice versa. The
539 only example of an *ula* that is translatable is:

Fai mai se langi ula	(t^1)	Do for me the words of *ula*
Fai mai se tau'olunga	(t^2)	Do for me the dance.

535 This is no doubt a recent example, first because it is translatable
539 and second because the word *tau'olunga* is used. *Tau'olunga* is a
174 recent dance type said to have come from Samoa in recent years, which
192 is probably historically valid because old Tongan dictionaries do not
[177] list the word and *tau'olunga* is a contemporary Samoan dance type.
535 Even though the above example of *ula* poetry is recent we can postulate
538 that the untranslatable *ula* also referred to the dance itself, its
performers, and its spectators. There are frequent references in
texts to Sina, Vaea, Maleipo, who were mythological and historical
figures known for their beauty and handsomeness, and references to

535 *mana'ia* which refers to a man who is irresistable. The *ula* poetry may
538 refer to either the dancing of, or the dancing for, these kinds of people.

535 The movement structure has X^1 X^2 X^1 X^3 X^1 X^4 X^1 form.[6] Each X
538 here is equal to one stanza, that is, two phrases of poetry. The
533 association of words and movement is as follows:

Text phrase structure	t^1t^2	t^1t^2	t^1t^2	t^1t^2	t^1t^2
Melodic phrase structure	m^1m^2	m^1m^2	m^1m^2	m^1m^2	m^1m^2
Stanza structure	A	A	A	A	A
Movement structure	X^1	X^2	X^1	X^3	X^1

535 In the movement structure X^1 is always the *Vahe ula* motif (p. 213). *Vahe ula* alternates as X^1 with other *haka* motifs as X^2 X^3 X^4, etc., selected from the following: '*haka*,' for example, motif notated on p. 216; *milolua*, p. 220; *tena*, p. 221; *kako*, p. 219; *si sia*, p. 223; *tuku*, p. 222; *Sina vai tafae*, p. 223; *nasi*, *fu*, for example, the variation on p. 229; and *Tunotuna*, p. 229. The structure of the *ula* never deviates from this, however, the order in which the *haka* motifs come in the X^2 X^3 X^4 X^5 slots is up to the choreographer or the dancer.

The use of the *va'e*, 'feet and lower legs,' in the *ula* is very limited but very important. During the X^2 X^3 X^4 phrases, M.II.a.7. is invariably used. During the X^1 phrase, M.II.a.l. is usually used.

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[128] [6] The letter 'X' will be used to designate a movement phrase.

535 the *haka* are most important in the general performance of Tongan dance,
555 it is the use of the rest of the body which distinguishes good dancers
from poor ones, and this is especially true in the case of *ula*.

535 Each *ula* text, that is, one stanza of two phrases of poetry, is
538 complete in itself and is sung over and over again throughout the dance.
● 539 However, two *ula* (and perhaps more) can follow each other without an
interval. When this is done, the second one is usually *Sima vai tafaʻe*,
because in this *ula* the two groups of dancers move away from each
535 other and then return to the center of the dance space. Though some
ula have a characteristic arm movement, for example, *Tunotuna* often
uses the motif called *Tunotuna* of clapping the hands and turning the
body in a circle, all of the other movements can also be performed
in each *ula*.

The *ula* cannot be said to be a living dance type, nor can it be
535 said to be completely dead. It is uncommon to have poetry created for
538 *ula* today, however, I did find one that the dance experts told me they
had never heard before. The poetry may be a misremembered version of
[539] the example quoted earlier. This version is:

Fai mai se tau'olunga, Io	(t^1)	Do a dance for me
Fai mai se langi, Io.	(t^2)	Sing the song for me.

I imagine that this *ula* was created by a person who does not usually perform *ula*. Wishing to do so, she used the song as she remembered it and used movements she remembered. This *ula*, incidentally, is the one now performed by Tongans in Honolulu.

535 While performing a number of expert turns and twirls of the paki, they
rearrange themselves so skillfully that one must see several performances to understand what movements each person makes to take him to
● [539] his new position. In the sections where the dancers divide into two
or three groups, each group sings a different set of words and melody
simultaneously, all of which have different lengths and different sets
of movements. The movements are very graceful, which is striking
because modern Tongan men's dance movements are expected to be virile
to contrast with women's graceful movements. The foot movements
include steps in place, M.II.a.6.; small steps around in a circle,
M.II.a.9.; small jumps, M.II.a.8.c.; and touching one toe in front
of the other foot, M.II.a.2.a.

The fakateki head movement, M.III. is performed in prescribed
places in the dance and it is also expected to be added when the
dancers feel it should, M.IV.4. The paki movements are graceful and
I would hypothesize that they represent movements of a canoe paddle
and not movements of a war club as previous writers on Tongan dance
535 have claimed. Tongans say that they do not know what the movements
538 mean nor if they interpret the poetry because they cannot understand
it. Although I cannot give a satisfactory translation of the poetry,
some of it seems to refer to canoes, directions, and island names.
Thus, I feel that the movements of the paki interpret the poetry
which tells of ocean voyages.

535 The performers accompany their movements with singing and a group
533 of men called lolongo also sing. Two or three hollow log gongs called
[534] nafa are beaten. The nafa was a log hollowed out in various thick-
534 nesses so that when hit in the middle or near the edges different tones
were obtained. It is said that the Tu'i Tonga himself beat the nafa
while the lesser chiefs danced. During the first half of this century
it was often Hopoate (p. 247) who beat the nafa.

534 Today the word nafa is used in two ways. Nafa is translated by
192 Churchward as "drum" (1959, p. 374) and refers to the skin drum used
in ma'ulu'ulu. The indigenous nafa should not be called a drum
because it does not have a skin. Most Tongans today do not associate
the word nafa with a hollow log gong, but rather with the skin drum
[177] used in ma'ulu'ulu. The hollow gong used today in Tonga, mainly as
church 'bells,' is called lali and is the Fijian style of log gong.

538 Me'etu'upaki poetry is untranslatable by present day Tongans,
[192] who say that the words are Uvean, Futunan, and Samoan. It is through-
538 composed in several stanzas. Each stanza is performed two or more
535 times and there is usually a short interval between the stanzas. Before
533 each stanza begins the dance leader, who stands at one side, says,
"Tu ki hoki" which signifies that the stanza is to begin. Most
stanzas end with a shout "ta!" at which time paki are raised with a
flourish. The poetry structure of a performance of a me'etu'upaki that
I witnessed is as follows (for text see Appendix B):

538
595
533

	Group 1	**Group 2**	**Group 3**
Stanza A -	t^1 (18 times)	$t^2\ t^2\ t^3\ t^3\ t^2\ t^2\ t^3\ t^3$	$t^4\ t^4\ t^4\ t^4$
Stanza B -	$t^1\ t^2$		
B	(repeat)		
Stanza C -	$t^1\ t^1\ t^2\ t^2$		
C	(repeat)		
C	(repeat)		
C	(repeat)		
Stanza D -	$t^1\ t^1\ t^2\ t^2$		
D	(repeat)		
Stanza E -	$t^1\ t^1\ t^2\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4$		
E	(repeat)		
E	(repeat)		
F -	$t^1\ t^1\ t^2\ t^2\ t^3$		
F	(repeat)		
F	(repeat)		

In stanza A the dancers divided into three groups and sang different poetry phrases, all three of which were of different length. Group 1 sang their phrase 18 times, two of these preceded actions by the other two groups. Groups 2 and 3 sang their respective phrases enough times so that they all finished together. During the rest of this *me'etu'upaki* the performers all sang together. The beginning formation was of eight columns, three men deep (that is, three rows, each with eight men) who were located at the rear of the dance space. Thus:

Beginning Formation -

X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X

538 During stanza A each of the three groups moved separately: Group 2
535 (middle 4 columns) remained in place while groups 1 and 3 (outer 2
533 columns) moved to the front of the dance space. Thus:

```
Stanza A - First           X X X X
change in formation        X X X X
                       X X X X X X X X
                       X X         X X
                       X X         X X
```

Then groups 1 and 3 remained in place and group 2 moved forward.

Thus:

```
Stanza A - Second      X X X X X X X X
change in formation    X X X X X X X X
                       X X X X X X X X
```

During stanzas B and C the dancers remained in this position. During stanza D the whole group moved to the right. Stanzas EF began with the dancers as a single group. They divided into two groups each with four columns, three men deep. Thus:

```
Stanzas EF - First     X X X X    X X X X
change in formation    X X X X    X X X X
                       X X X X    X X X X
```

Each set of four columns then moved to become two columns. Thus:

```
Stanzas EF - Second    X X        X X
change in formation    X X        X X
                       X X        X X
                       X X        X X
                       X X        X X
                       X X        X X
```

538 Each pair of two columns moved toward each other to become a single
535 group of four columns, six men deep. Thus:
533

Stanzas EF - Third
change in formation

X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X

Finally they returned to their original starting position of a single group of eight columns, three men deep. Thus:

Stanzas EF - Final
change in formation

X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X

There was no interval between stanzas E and F.

The stanzas used and the number of their repetitions is at the descretion of the choreographer. He arranges the performance according
535 to the desired duration and how many men will participate. Teachers
644 of the *ma'etu'upaki* are members of the *falefā matāpule*, the ceremonial
attendants of the Tu'i Tonga. One of these attendants, Kavapele, usually teaches the dance today as, in his forties, he is still of dancing age. Another of the *falefā matāpule*, Mailau, is well known
535 for his knowledge of *ma'etu'upaki*. Mailau is now 74 years old and
644 leaves the dance teaching to the younger men, but he still helps with
538
[212] remembering the poetry. The poetry is not written down, but reconstructed from memory each time it is to be performed. Mailau remembered six sections of *ma'etu'upaki*. Kavapele, who taught the *ma'etu'upaki* I saw and also taught me to perform the dance, remembered
585 six stanzas, four of which were the same as Mailau's. Vaisima, though
538

535 more extended, while the women's movements are smaller, more restrained and there is limited use of the upper arm. Although the basic movements are very much the same, their differences lie in the order and the manner of performance and are more apparent than real.

Foot movements for men and women are basically the same, that is, allo-kinemic, the men's steps being larger than women's. There are usually only three foot movements: morphokines M.II.a.1., M.II.a.2., and M.II.a.3. The most common morphokine, M.II.a.1., could be used throughout the dance. *Lakalaka* means to 'walk' or 'step it out' and M.II.a.1. is simply that--a step-touch alternately to each side. M.II.a.3. is forward and backward walking steps that are added either for the sake of variation or to interpret walking elements of the poetry.

Arm movements for both men and women are based first on the '*haka*' M.I.a.1. paradigm and *pasi*, *au*, *fu*, clapping combinations; second on 'other *haka*' motifs, and third on a number of M.I.c. morphokines.

535 Music associated with the *lakalaka* is singing only. Singing is
533 provided by a chorus called *langitu'a* which stands behind the dancers,
and the dancers themselves. The *langitu'a* is a necessary part of the
performance because it is considered that the dancers cannot dance
535 and sing simultaneously as loud as is necessary. The dance leader
who has taught the dance usually stands behind the dancers and sets
[554] the tempo by calling commands and counting. The exception to this
practice is a *punake* who holds the title Malukava who may direct from

535 a position in front of the dancers. It is because of the title that
554 he is permitted to stand in front of the dancers and not necessarily
because of the ability of the individual who holds it. This title
descends from the Malukava, who along with Tuku'aho originated the
535 *lakalaka*. The dance leader calls, "*Nima ki 'olunga,*" at which time
the dancers measure the space between them by stretching their right
arms to the side and touch the shoulder of the adjacent person. The
dance leader then calls "*fu e ua*," which is the *vahe*, dividing motif,
535 for the *lakalaka* (p. 214), and counts, "*taha*, *ua*," "one, two." He
● 533 then begins to sing the song and after a few words the whole group
joins in. Sometimes, especially if there is a large number of
performers, the dance leader may beat the time on two sticks so that
the whole group can hear. It is said that if they cannot hear the
beat the singers go faster and faster until finally the dancers,
especially the men doing vigorous movements, are so tired that at the
end of the *lakalaka* when they should do their best movements, they are
[301] too fatigued to do so. There is no instrumental accompaniment except
[177] that the performers from a few villages wear seed anklets, which is
said to be a borrowing from the Uvean dance *kailao*.

A *lakalaka* typically lasts fifteen minutes or more. Usually there are three sections and these may be divided into sub-sections which, in turn, are divided into phrases. Within the overall structure there may be one or more sub-section known as *tau* or *tau ngahaka*, which is a stanza in which the performers are particularly *māfana*, 535 'inwardly warm or exhilarated,' and do their best *haka*. In addition, 538 some *lakalaka* have a special ending called *sipa*, which is characterized by the dancers turning around and moving to the rear of the dance space, then facing the audience and advancing forward again. The melody and some of the words of the *sipa* are taken from the *ma'etu'upaki*.

535 538 The most fundamental division is a tripartite one which divides the poetry into three sections. These sections are *fakatapu*, *lakalaka* proper and *tatau*.

Fakatapu

535 538 [537] *Fakatapu* is the stylized beginning of a speech. It is also the beginning section of a *lakalaka*. In both cases it recognizes chiefs and important people present and in effect asks their permission to speak. It may recognize the chiefs of various large societal divisions, the King or Queen, the individuals that the celebration honors, honored guests, the heads of churches, or the Christian God. Sometimes these people are named in the poetry but usually they are alluded to in symbolism. The *fakatapu* can be more or less elaborate depending on the poet.

One of the *fakatapu* written by the late Queen Salote recognizes only the 'crown of the land' and then goes on to tell of the happiness of the people with their Tongan traditions under the Tongan government.

535 where in the world one may travel, his love will always bring him back
538 to Tonga. The tatau is usually only one short stanza.

Lakalaka, then, consists of three parts: 1) to recognize the chiefs and ask their permission to speak, 2) to tell a story, trace a genealogy, etc., and 3) to defer again to the chiefs. Within this general outline the composer is free to improvise and use his creative imagination. Each section and often each stanza has a different melody and rhythm. Phrases within a stanza may be the same length or may vary. The movements not only interpret the poetry by allusion, but their overall character varies according to the melody and tempo--those of the tau stanzas being especially lively.

To illustrate the structure of a lakalaka, I will use the lakalaka
[644] known as Kalauni that was used above in the discussion of motifs. This
[649] lakalaka is from Lapaha, a village reknowned for dancing. The ta'anga, 'poetry,' was composed by Queen Salote Tupou III, who was a reknowned
[533] virtuoso of lakalaka ta'anga. The fasi, 'melody,' and haka, 'hand movements,' were composed by Vili Pusiake who was particularly reknowned for his ability to choreograph lakalaka. The structure of the lakalaka is as follows (for text see Appendix B)[A]:

A [See category 116, p. 314--Analyst]

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Section or stanza	Text phrase
Section I. *Fakatapu*	
Stanza A	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8
A	(repeat)
Stanza B	t^1 t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4
B	(repeat)
Section II. *Lakalaka*	
Stanza C	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5
C	(repeat)
Stanza D *Tau*	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^4
D	(repeat)
Stanza E1	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^5
E1	(repeat)
E2	t^6 t^7 t^8 t^9 t^{10} t^{11} t^{11}
E2	(repeat)
Stanza F1	t^1 t^2 (slowly)
F1	(repeat at a faster tempo)
F2	t^3 t^3
F3	t^4 t^5
Stanza G	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^4
Section III. *Tatau*	
Stanza H *Tau*	t^1 t^2
H	(repeat)

The movement phrases are determined by the text phrases which they interpret. At the beginning, between each sub-section, and at the end, the *lakalaka vaha*, *fu e ua*, is used.

Few *lakalaka* have such an elaborate structure, but it is this kind that is most admired with its varied repetitions of phrases and stanzas. The pulse organization of the phrases changes with some

535 stanzas and sometimes within a stanza. If the poetry of a phrase is
538 felt to be too short, there may be repetition of a word within a
● 533 phrase. This is done in stanza C of the above example. A text phrase
can also be lengthened by adding tones to extend a word.

535 The movements depend on the repertoire of the choreographer. Choreographers from Lapaha are particularly well known and are invited to other villages and islands of the Tonga group to choreograph *lakalaka* and teach them to their dancers. The large *lakalaka* movement inventory of the Lapaha choreographers is partly due to the fact that it is their village which has preserved the three earlier dance types. Choreographers who know only *lakalaka* have no other dance genres from which to 'borrow' movements. The best choreographers usually use only one interpretative or *haka* motif per text phrase, fitting the motif to the phrase in two or three M.I.b. environments and completing the phrase with a variation of the *pasi*, *au*, *fu*, motif. Another common movement phrase structure is an interpretive movement from M.I.c. group completed with a movement of the M.I.a.l. '*haka*' group or carefully selected motifs from the other *haka* group of motifs. An example of this latter type was the stanza illustrated in the Chapter on motifs, where the first part of each phrase used interpretive motifs (M.I.a.2., *toli*, and M.I.a.l.) in three successive phrases, and each was completed with *vete*. Another means of variation is repetition at a faster tempo, as in stanza Fl above.

535 general this distinction holds, there are exceptions. In some
lakalaka there are stanzas in which the dancers are seated, as in the
lakalaka of Kolovai where the dancers depict the making of kava. In
a *ma'ulu'ulu* with more than one row of dancers only the first row is
[533] seated. Other important differences between *ma'ulu'ulu* and *lakalaka*
are those of musical accompaniment, overall structure, movements,
and origin.

535 The *ma'ulu'ulu* dance type is said to have come from Samoa
177 toward the end of the 1800's. It was well liked by the Tongans and
[192] the first one that the Tongans performed was sung in the Samoan
language. As performed in Tonga today, the *ma'ulu'ulu* is a combination
of Tongan dance concepts and Tongan-adapted Samoan and Western concepts.

535 The formation of a *ma'ulu'ulu* is one or more curved lines. The front row sits cross-legged, M.II.a.15. on the ground. The remaining rows are elevated in various ways--by kneeling, sitting on chairs or benches, and standing. When the performers of the back row are standing, they move slightly from side to side using the main step of the *lakalaka*, M.II.a.1. The arm movements are the most varied of any of the Tongan dance genres and use any of the morphokines of the M.I. group. Like *fa'ahiula*, the *ma'ulu'ulu* can be described as *'otu haka*, 'row of *haka*' because the aim of the group is to perform with such precision that all the individuals in a row move 'as a machine' giving an impression of a row of *haka*.

535 Music for the *ma'ulu'ulu* is singing, together with the beating of
533 a modern *nafa*. This *nafa* is a section of a metal barrel with both
[534] sides covered with cowhide. It is hit with sticks covered on the ends with tapa. From one to four *nafa* may be used and sometimes they are beaten on both ends. The drummers do not all beat the same rhythm and are free to improvise within a 4-pulse framework, particularly during the section where no singing occurs. Usually one drummer begins and the others join with different rhythms resulting in an intricate-sounding beating. The rhythm produced is similar to that of several women beating tapa. When the drums accompany singing they beat a more regular 4-pulse rhythm.

Singing is done by the dancers. If there is only a small group, a chorus may join in singing, but this is not a necessary part of the performance.

The structure of *ma'ulu'ulu* is different from *lakalaka*, although it, too, is divided into three sections. Whereas in *lakalaka* the three sections are internal divisions in the *ta'anga*, in *ma'ulu'ulu* a further three sections are differentiated by singing and not singing.

The first section of *ma'ulu'ulu* is called *haka fakalongolongo*, 'silent *haka*.' The silent here means no singing, for it is during this section that the drums only, in very loud intricate beating, accompany the *haka*. This vigorous beating and *haka* lasts for five minutes or more. *Haka fakalongolongo* uses vigorous staccato movements

595 that reflect the precise beating of the *nafa*. In this section the
[533] creativity of the *pulotu haka* is greatly admired. This section
uses *haka* from both M.I.a. and M.I.c. groups, usually repeating each
[524] morphokine four times in rapid succession. Occasionally this section
may be based on movements from daily life, for example, the *haka fakalongolongo* of one *ma'ulu'ulu* was based on *lena*, a children's game where two children face each other and hit each other's open palms. The *haka fakalongolongo* strives to excite both dancers and spectators to the inner exhilaration, *māfana*, ideally created by dance.

595 The second section, *haka hiva*, consists of *haka*, softer drum
583 beating, and singing. During this section the *haka*, by allusion, interprets the words of the *ta'anga*. The *ta'anga* is strophic in form--that is, verse and refrain, verse and refrain. The verses need not all have the same melody or even the same number of phrases per verse. Usually the first verse corresponds to the *fakatapu* of a *lakalaka* and the last verse to its *tatau*. There seem to be two models for *ma'ulu'ulu ta'anga*: verse-refrain form from church hymns, and the through-composed form found in *fa'ahiula* and *lakalaka*.

The refrain is called *tau* in Tongan or 'chorus' in English, and it fulfills both functions. It is a chorus in the English sense in that it is repeated after each verse. And it is a *tau* in the Tongan sense in that it is this section where the performers do their best *haka* and are particularly *māfana*. The *haka* of the second section is

535 more restrained than in the haka fakalongolongo section and is fit to
533 the poetry phrases in the same ways as in lakalaka choreography.

535 The third section is a haka fakalongolongo, which is a similar but shortened version of the first.

535 644 [873] I will give two examples of the structure of ma'ulu'ulu. The first is the ma'ulu'ulu of Queen Salote College (a secondary school) for girls. The ta'anga was composed by Queen Salote and the fasi and haka by Peni Tutuila who is the individual of greatest reknown for ma'ulu'ulu choreography. Often the ma'ulu'ulu is performed by all the girls of the school which number over 500. The following description is from a performance for Queen Salote in the Palace grounds on October 29, 1965. On this occasion all the girls of the school brought food to the palace as a going away gift to the Queen and then performed for her. In attendance were only the Queen and her ceremonial attendants (matāpule). The girls had practiced daily for several weeks in order to make their movements as perfect--'as one'--as possible. The dance lasted about half an hour and had the following structure (for text see Appendix B)^A:

A [See category 116, p. 315--Analyst]

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Section I. Haka fakalongolongo (haka and drumming)
Lead drummer used three drums, second drummer used one drum, third drummer used opposite end of one of the drums used by the lead drummer.

Section II. Haka hiva (movements, singing, drumming)

Stanza A -	Verse 1[7]	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 (the first time through was fakalaulausiva--singing with no haka)
A		(repeat--with haka)
A		(repeat)
Stanza B	Tau	t^1 t^2 d t^3 t^4 d t^5 t^6 d t^7 t^8 d (d here symbolizes drumming and haka without singing)
B		(repeat)
Stanza C	Verse 2	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^6
C		(repeat)
Stanza B	Tau	same as above
B		(repeat)
Stanza D	Verse 3	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^6
D		(repeat)
Stanza B	Tau	same as above
B		(repeat)
Stanza E	Verse 4	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^6
E		(repeat)
Stanza B	Tau	same as above
B		(repeat)
B		(repeat)

Section III. Haka fakalongolongo (shortened version of Section I).

Movement phrases are determined by text phrases.

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[7] Verse 1 takes the place of a fakatapu by saying that it will leave the fakatapu to the matapule.

535 Section I. *Haka fakalongolongo*

541 Section II. *Haka hiva*

538	Stanza A	Verse 1 - *Fakatapu*	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6
● 533	A		(repeat)
	Stanza B	*Tau*	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8
	B		(repeat)
	Stanza C	Verse 2	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8
	C		(repeat)
	Stanza B	*Tau*	same as above
	B		(repeat)
	Stanza D	Verse 3	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8
	D		(repeat)
	Stanza B	*Tau*	same as above
	B		(repeat)
	Stanza E	Verse 4	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8 t^9 t^{10} t^{11} t^{12} t^{13} t^{14}
	E		(repeat)
	Stanza B	*Tau*	same as above
	B		(repeat)
	Stanza F	Verse 5 - *Tatau*	t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8
	F		(repeat)
	Stanza B	*Tau*	same as above
	B		(repeat)

Section III. *Haka fakalongolongo*

535 An abstraction of the essential elements of the structure of *ma'ulu'ulu* shows it to be a *haka fakalongolongo*, followed by *haka hiva*, followed by a shortened version of *haka fakalongolongo*. The essential structure of the *ta'anga* is one or more *kupu*, 'verse,' followed by one or more *tau*, and usually internal divisions into *fakatapu*, body of the poetry, and *tatau*.

535 If we compare the structure of these *ma'ulu'ulu* with the structure of the previous Tongan genres, we can see that *ma'ulu'ulu*, though supposedly brought from Samoa has prototypes in indigenous Tongan genres for most of its essential features. *Fa'ahiula* can be said to be the main prototype for the *ma'ulu'ulu* genre.

Ma'ulu'ulu like *fa'ahiula* is primarily a women's sitting dance. Men and women occasionally perform the *ma'ulu'ulu* together, and it is also said that men sometimes joined in the *fa'ahiula* (I have not seen this). Performers of *fa'ahiula* sit in a single curved row. When there is a small number of performers in *ma'ulu'ulu*, they, too, sit in a single row. When more performers are added, more rows are added and the dance space resembles a combination of *fa'ahiula* and *lakalaka*
535 performance. Music associated with both *fa'ahiula* and *ma'ulu'ulu*
533 consists of singing by the performers and beating time by one or more
[534] musicians who sit within the curve of the dancers. The *nafa* has replaced the *tafua*, and serves the same function. The pulse organ-
[177] ization of both genres is usually in groups of 4. The *ma'ulu'ulu* is more regular and tends to have a larger pitch range, probably due to
[538] the influence of Western music. In both genres the movements interpret the poetry and are based on the text phrase structure.

535 The structure of *fa'ahiula* are quite diverse and include the
533 strophic, verse-refrain structure of the *ma'ulu'ulu* as well as the
538 through-composed structure which has stanzas of different lengths and melodies as some *ma'ulu'ulu* do. In both cases the function of the

535 poetry is to tell a story and the movements to interpret the story. 539 Preceding the poetry of both genres there may be a section of *haka* 538 and drumming without singing. This section is called *tafua* in the *fa'ahiula*. *Tafua* refers to the rolled mat, which is struck to keep time, as well as the *haka* without singing. In *ma'ulu'ulu* this section is called *haka fakalongolongo* which refers to being verbally silent. I would conjecture that both of these terms were originally the dance leader's directions to the dancers--"*tafua*" would be a reminder that the section is with drum only; "*haka fakalongolongo*" would be a reminder that the section is without singing, which of course, is the same. In both genres the *haka hiva* can be preceded by a section called *fakalaulausiva* in which there is singing but no *haka*.

535 The second section of both genres is *haka* which interprets poetry. The third section of *ma'ulu'ulu* is *haka fakalongolongo*. It is said that the third section of *fa'ahiula* could be *tafua*, but this may be a reverse borrowing from *ma'ulu'ulu*.

After a *fa'ahiula* or *ma'ulu'ulu* is performed, the dancers often remain seated and become the *langitu'a* for a succeeding dance based on beauty of movement rather than poetry interpretation--the *ula* and the *tau'olunga* respectively.

Finally either genre may, but need not, be performed on formal occasions. During the era in which *fa'ahiula* was frequently performed the *me'etu'upaki* was the more formal dance type. Today, the era of *ma'ulu'ulu*, the *lakalaka* is the formal dance type.

535 *Ma'ulu'ulu*, like other Tongan genres, has its well known choreographers. The most famous is Peni Tutuila, who choreographs the Queen Salote College *ma'ulu'ulu*. This dance has been seen throughout the world in the Cinerama production, "South Seas Adventure." Students of Peni have choreographed *ma'ulu'ulu* in his style and others have 'stolen' his routines. Peni comes from the island of Uiha in the Ha'apai group of islands, the son of a reknowned female choreographer.

Another exponent of *ma'ulu'ulu* is the Honorable Ve'ehala, noble of Fahefa who is recognized throughout the Kingdom for his knowledge of Tongan traditions including dances--especially *lakalaka* and *ma'ulu'ulu*. Several of the Lapaha *pulotu haka* also choreograph *ma'ulu'ulu*.

Tafi

A subdivision of *ma'ulu'ulu* is a dance called *tafi*. That is, it is classified as a *ma'ulu'ulu* by many Tongans. The only people I found who do not classify it as a *ma'ulu'ulu* are the people of [829] Fua'amotu village, and it is they who perform the *tafi*. They say that [177] *tafi* is a 'real Tongan dance' and not a *ma'ulu'ulu* which came from Samoa. They also say it was originated by Tuku'aho who also originated the *lakalaka*. Tuku'aho was chief of two villages and after he gave [533] the *lakalaka* to Tatakamotonga he gave the *tafi* to Fua'amotu. When the dance was originated in about the 1890's it is said to have consisted

535 only of drum beating and haka. The haka dramatised the sweeping
[539] (tafi) of the mala'e. The tafi should be performed first on a dance
program to prepare the mala'e for the dances which follow. In 1918
535 Tuku'aho added the words to the tafi. The poetry is hiva fakananivi,
538 'song of fondness or love to a child,' and was written for Tuku'aho's
son, Tungi Mailefihi, for the occasion of his marriage to Queen Salote.
There are two short stanzas of poetry. Stanza A has 6 phrases of
4 pulses each, and stanza B has 5 phrases of 8 pulses each. They
are performed as A A B B, the B stanza being known as the tau ngahaka.
The overall structure is the same as ma'ulu'ulu. That is, first there
is a section of haka fakalongolongo which dramatizes the tafi,
'sweeping of the mala'e.' Second there is haka hiva consisting of
movements, singing, and drumming. Third there is a repetition of the
haka fakalongolongo section.

535 Tafi can be performed by all men, all women, or both--usually the latter, who sit alternately. It is usually performed by 30 or 40 people sitting in one or two curved rows with the drum in front. In the tafi all the performers sit on the ground even if there is more than one row.

535 The performance of tafi is not only to tafi the dance mala'e.
644 The last performance of tafi was in 1965 when the present King's
oldest son came home for school holidays. The tafi was performed at
the airport to tafi the mala'e vakapuna (green where the airplane
lands) for the Prince.

535 Music for the *tau'olunga* is Western acculturated. Guitar and
533 'ukulele, using chords derived from Western music, form the musical
177 background for the singing, which also employs Western intervals and
harmony.

Though originally the model for *tau'olunga* songs may have come
from church hymns, a more recent model is rock-and-roll songs.
Tongans take great delight in fitting *tau'olunga* poetry to melodies
heard on the radio. These melodies may be heard only once or twice
and the remembered version that is eventually fitted to a *tau'olunga*
often has little resemblance to the original, especially when added
to the Tongan preference for singing harmony rather than melody. In
music as in poetry, the obvious is hidden--that is, they allude to
the melody by singing the harmony. Perhaps we can compare the result
to the 'silent theme' tradition or 'bebop' school of American jazz--
though we do not hear the melody, we can 'feel' that the melody is
535 there. On one occasion I was taking a rather long time to learn a
533 *tau'olunga* song. One of my informants told me that she couldn't
177 understand why I had so much trouble when the melody was an American
123 rock-and-roll song called "Honey, Honey." She then sang what she
considered to be an English rendition of the song--which I admit could
have been a rock-and roll song, but, unfortunately, I didn't know
it.

533 Songs that are associated with *tau'olunga* dancing are called
535 *hiva kakala*, 'sweet songs,' and are composed for singing rather than

533 dancing. Such songs are sung at informal kava parties or on any
[535] informal occasion when people get together. *Ta'anga*, the word used
[574] for *lakalaka* and *ma'ulu'ulu* poetry implies that the poetry is meant
to be sung and accompanied with set actions. This word is not used for *hiva kakala*. Similarly, *fakafasi* which is the verb which describes the adding of the tune to *lakalaka* poetry, is often replaced by *fakatu'ungafasi* when applied to *hiva kakala*. *Fakatu'ungafasi* refers to writing music in the Tongan form of the tonic sol-fa. It is recognized by Tongans that *hiva kakala* can be written this way. The *fasi* of a *ta'anga*, however, cannot be so written because it is not based on Western melodic intervals. The mention of *hiva kakala* does not denote dancing.

535 When *tau'olunga* first came to Tonga it was associated with a
533 particular Samoan song which is still remembered. Songs were then written in Tongan that were integrally associated with *tau'olunga*. Today any *hiva kakala* can be accompanied by *tau'olunga*. Occasionally a song will be written primarily for *tau'olunga*. These, however, still conform to *hiva kakala* type and all are also performed without dancing.

535 *Tau'olunga*, like all Tongan dance, is determined by the phrase
533 structure of the poetry. Even in *hiva kakala* the poetry is the most
538 important. The poetry is composed and then a melody is sought that will go with it. Almost without exception the structure follows the strophic form of verse-refrain of some church hymns. Each verse

535 has the same number of lines, the same pulse organization, and the
[533] same melody. Until quite recently the dancer was also the choreographer.
[538] The dancer choreographed as she danced using the pool of Tongan recognised dance motifs, that of the movement inventory of every Tongan dancer. These motifs were either learned as *tau'olunga* motifs or as motifs learned and used in other Tongan genres, and adapted to the rhythm of *hiva kakala*.

535 The structure of a typical *hiva kakala*-*tau'olunga* performance
533 is as follows (an example of *tau'olunga*, *Hala Vuna*, is included in
538 Appendix B)[A]:

Section I. Introduction (Usually this is the *tau* performed as instrumental music only and used as an entrance for the dancer.

Section II. *Haka hiva* (music, singing, and *haka*)

Stanza A Verse 1
A repeat

Stanza B *Tau*
B repeat

Stanza C Verse 2
C repeat

Stanza B *Tau*
B repeat

Stanza D Verse 3
D repeat

Stanza B *Tau*

Section III. *Fakataupasi*

Stanza B *Tau* (considerably faster)

[A] [See category 116, p. 317--Analyst]

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 TABLE 4. STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF SIX TONGAN DANCE GENRES

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Element	Fa'ahiula
1) Overall structure of a total performance	Varied through-composed verse-refrain by phrases First section may be tafua may be fakalaulausiva Second section haka hiva
a) sections	
b) stanzas	
c) phrases	
2) Associated music	
a) instruments	Tafua (rolled mat)
b) pitch range of vocal music	Small
c) pulse organization, tempo	4 or 8, slow
3) Relation of movements to poetry	Interprets words
4) Movement	
a) frequently recurring morphokines	Touching, clapping, M.I.a.1., M.I.a.2.
b) prescribed-proscribed morphokines	Some proscribed
c) choreography	Traditional
5) Performers	
a) number	Many
b) sex, age	Usually women, old or middle aged
c) arrangement of dancers	Curved row
d) position (sitting or standing)	Seated
6) Occasion of performance	Catholic gatherings Special request

[P. 298-A]

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

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538

Ula	**Me'etu'upaki**	**Lakalaka**
One stanza of two phrases repeated throughout	Through-composed by stanzas Each stanza repeated -- .	Through-composed in stanzas Three sections First section corresponds to fakatapu and may be fakalaulausiva Second section tells story Third section corresponds to tatau
Tafua	Nafa (slit log gong)	None
Small	Small	Medium
6 or 8, slow	Varied, slow	Varied, medium
Does not interpret Movements for beauty	Hypothesize that they interpret	Interprets words
M.I.a.2. Definite inventory Others proscribed	Paki used in hands Definite inventory Others proscribed	M.I.a.1. for arms M.II.a.1., M.II.a.2., M.II.a.3. only for legs
Traditional	Traditional	Specially choreographed Aim to move 'as one'
8, 6, 4, 2, (or today as a solo)	Many	Many (all of specified group)
Women, young	Men, young or middle aged	Men and women All adults
One row	Straight rows Formations change	Straight rows
Standing	Standing	Standing (special sections may be seated)
Catholic gatherings Traditional Tongan Special request	Catholic gatherings Special request	Formal

[P.298-B]

535
533
538

Ma'ulu'ulu	Tau'olunga
Usually verse-refrain	Verse-refrain
Three sections First section may be fakalaulausiva; always haka fakalongolongo Second Section is haka hiva May have three internal divisions into fakatapu, body of poetry, tatau Third section haka fakalongolongo	Entrance prelude of music without singing Haka hiva Fakataupasi Each verse has same melody and length Tau refrain follows each verse
Nafa (skin drum)	String band
Medium	Large
4, medium and fast	Varied, fast
Interprets words Reflects drum beating	May interpret Movements for beauty
M.I.a.l. most frequent Any arm morphokine may be used	M.I.a.l. most frequent Variation admired None prescribed or proscribed
Specially choreographed Aim to move 'as one'	Choreographed or imporvised
Many (all of specified group)	Usually 1 to 8
Usually women, occasionally men and women; all ages	Women and male tulafale All ages
Curved rows	Usually rows, but can be any arrangement
Sitting (back rows gradually elevated)	Standing Mobile
Formal and semi-formal	Informal and semi-formal

[P.298-C]

APPENDIX B.

TONGAN POETRY REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

539 Ta'anga Me'etu'upaki

535 He 'oie 'oi e kama'u ka mau e kau savoli mo tuilolua (t^1)

533 'I o e o nai valu e o nai valu ē, (t^2)
Fotu mai falike tolua e ia ka se ie kase (t^3)

He kau sa tū ūli ē i e au e (t^4)

'O latu latu e
Pei tonga mu'a kae tokelau ia
'I 'i a, 'I 'i a. (t^1)
Paleki pala puileva
Kae liua manu oleva
Kae takoi e lenga'uta ia
'I 'i a, 'I 'i a. (t^2)

'O tapu tea tapu tea mai uia mala maile tai (t^1)
'Ou sulu ia lau penga tuia uia mala maile uia. (t^2)

Lau ta ē lanta ē lanta ē, siki poi e, he siki poi e, he siki poi e (t^1)
Si ke 'olunga ma'a tu foe ma'u e tata malie, he siki poi e, siki poi e (t^2)

Aua mai fai mai tapu la e maile tai (t^1)
He velo e sila, talava e, Vaka e suva, kite fanua, (t^2)
Tafe a mai fea he fusi e lanumea (t^3)
Tafea ki Uvea 'o akatu. (t^4)

Toru mo tekau ke tu'a tafa faka hakea 'i ai tevaka (t^1)
He tapu mo si mo longo te vai fa lonai ae (t^2)
Fakapakupaku pasipasi mai futuna katoa e 'i a 'o e. (t^3)

539

Lakalaka 'ae Lomipeau

535

This example of lakalaka is known as Kalauni. It is from the village of Lapaha.

533

Fakatapu

Tapu moe Kalauni e Fonua
'Oku fakamalu 'a Lalo mo'uta
Laukau'anga o Tonga ki tu'a
He ai 'etau fatungamotu'a
'O tukunga tonu 'ete fiefia
Kei tangitangi 'ae mo'onia
'O moto 'a 'ofa 'i he maheni
Ko hoto kahoa fakataukei.
He'ine'i ā taka ē matangi
'O fakahoha'asi e 'Otu Langi
He mafola 'a hono ongoongo
Lea 'ae Toa vaha'a-kolo.

Lakalaka Proper

'Uoi 'Uoi 'Uoi he koe folau
'Oku hua liliu 'i Hakau-tapu
'Oku 'ai lā fakamarumaru
Angina he afu 'oe Tokelau
Mapaki e Hea tongi ehe Manu
Lui'a 'i Longolongo folau.

Tau ngahaka

Hulukona 'o tavake fai'ana
Ma'e toli he matangi Mafana
Kohai 'e Ofo he 'ene ngangatu
Fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu
He 'oisue fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu.

He 'Oku 'ilo 'eha fine Fuoloa
'Ae fā he liku 'o Maluhola
Fio Heilala Tatakamotonga
He Kaloni 'oe Manu launoa
He fakama'unga 'o Nuku'alofa.
(this verse continues
in the next column)

Ta'ahine tu'u hake 'o teu
Kae taku keu luva 'eau
'Ae faka'ilonga Tuitu'u
Metali 'e pitoi ngalau
He teunga ki ha po fetau
Lafitani 'oe Lomipeau.

'Isa 'oku hanu 'a 'Ana-matangi
Mo Kolongahau hono li'aki.

Ta ku ngalo 'apē kinaua
He naua 'oe Uafu ko Vuna.

Launoa pe he'ena 'ofa
Ka he puli e Kava 'i Atatā
'Oku Fotu 'o hangē kae la'a
Fai'anga 'oe Patapata.

Tatau

Pei'eva he funga 'o māmani
Ka ko 'ofa te tau fehokotaki.

539

Ta'anga Mā'ulu'ulu 'a e Kolisi ke Kuini Salote

535 Tukuange pē tala 'a Lo'au
644 Ki he fakafeangai 'o e Hau
Hehenga si'ete fakakaukau
533 'O fekumi na'a ma'u ha feau
'O e loto kuo kafo he manatu
He 'aho ni mo hono feingatau
He 'aho ni mo hono feingatau.

This verse is a fakatapu by implication rather than statement. It says in effect, that Queen Salote (who composed it) is not going to bother with a fakatapu, but leave that to her matapule.

Ko e si tenga 'a e fefine
Faka'anau ki he mo ē
Kia Hikule'o mo hono fale
Mo e ivi 'o Fai mālie
Ke fetaki nima he 'aho ko ē
Tu'u ai e palā tavake
Tu'u ai e palā tavake.

Mafualu e hoko mo Toloa
'Ae hikihiki atu e fononga
Kumi e mafua tuha e kuonga
Kate nofo pē 'o le'o koloa
Fetu'utakinga 'o Nuku'alofa
Nunu'anga 'o e kakala hingoa
Nunu'anga 'o e kakala hingoa.

Pilolevu e Siu'ilikutapu
To'o ualulu mo e laulau
Ha'ofia 'a e hema mo mata'u
Kano e hala tuku kia au
Ka li ha pulu pea hapo atu
He ko 'eku kai fakatalutalu
He ko 'eku kai fakatalutalu.

Tau ngahaka

Hake 'a tahi na 'o hifo mo'uta
'Eva he laka 'o matafonua
Fuifui afe 'i Halaevalu
Fotuaki mai e ta'u teau
'Ise'isa e 'ete māfana
Tukupāninga e fakahuafa
'Oku tuku ko 'ete fakama'unga.

539
535
541
533

Mā'ulu'ulu 'a Pilolevu College

Fakatapu

Tulou he takafalu he Lupe
Mo e 'Aloua 'i he mala'e
Pupunga fo'ou ne hopo hake
Māhangalei 'a Felenite
Fai'anga ia 'o e vakē
'A e tangata mo e fefine.

Mā'ulu'ulu proper

Holo e matanga kau lea atu
'Ete fiefia he fakamanatu
'Ae kakato ta'u 'e teau
'Ae Tau'atāina mei hono fa'u
Be fiaju ;e he 'Uluaki Hau
'I he tahavalu ono ua 'oe ta'u
Lave ai koe lave ai au
'Ofa ke tolonga ki he pā'anga ngalu.

Ako e manatu ke kuonga mu'a
He kuonga 'o e nofo pōpula
Nofo hopoate ki he mā'olunga
Pule 'i he nofo 'i fale mo tu'a
Tangi lo'imata ai si'i tu'a
Ko hou'eiki mo hono tu'unga
Ko e 'ofa eni ne kilukilua
Faka-Tohitapu mo Faka-'Otua.

'Otu Ha'apai tefua ki Pangai
'Epoki Koula kuo ta 'iai
Senituli 'eni ne tuku ki Langi
Ko e ma'alali ki he fonua ni
Tau'atāina kuo ta 'iai.
Tukulaumea Tu'i Ha'apai.
Na'e to 'i he 'Otu Ha'apai
'Ae poto na'e fakalangamai
He langafonua 'ae 'Uluaki
Lotu mo e Ako ko hono fungani
'O 'alaha 'i hotau fonua ni
Taufa'āhau 'oku e'a mai
Pilolevu 'ena 'oku ne sila'i
Koe tūkunga ke fa'aitaki.

Tatau

Te u ngata hē kau foki au
Na'a lau kiu fiemā'unā'u
Ka ko 'eku fiefia pē 'aku
Kuou lele mai 'o tali fekau
Ki hā'ele 'a e Hau
He 'aho ni te u hopo 'o kakau
Ko hoku tu'unga ko e laukau
'I he 'Aho 'oku ta fakamanatu.

Tau

He aho ni te u tu'u 'o tuē, tuē.
Fanga-'i-he-Sī keke me'ite
Lea'aetohi kei tu'u pē
Ko e fakama'unga 'o e Talite
Tau'akipulu ko ho 'Aho e
Pea fakamo'oni he Laione
'Oku kei kapa 'a si'i Lupe
Pea kei Tongo 'a e Tonga pē.

539 Hala Vuna (this is an example of hiva kakala used for tau'olunga)

535 Hala Vuna 'oku_tapa sio'ata
Fetaulaki 'ai_ē folau vaka
533 Loka munu ai ē pou 'umata
Sia-a-Hina mo 'ene kato kakala.

Evemui ko Hala Tupoulahi
Fenukesu ki he vunga moe ahi
Pongia i he Fasimoeafi
Hengihengi pea matala masani.

Tulituli mai mu'a ke to ō
O 'eva i he hala Vaha'akolo
Tu'u si'i ke ha fakafanongo
Fu'ifu'i 'oku kapa i Moheofo.

Tau

Teki puna siete Tavake oma
A nakita pea te fakanonoa
Faka'amu 'ae Tokelau Tonga
Ke po tatala i loto Nuku'alofa.

Oral Traditions

An Appraisal of their Value in Historical Research in Tonga

SIONE LATUKEFU

IN THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH WHICH I WAS CARRYING OUT IN TONGA TOWARDS 124
the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965 I recorded, among other oral 114
testimonies, a good collection of oral traditions from the chiefs and people
of Tonga, and in particular, Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote, at that
time the living authority on these matters.

In Tonga oral traditions are preserved by social classes and by the 538
major socio-political units of society as well as by families. Oral traditions 533
may take the form of stories, told or sung, relating the heroic deeds of
clan founders or important historical personages. There are family titles
with stories of their origins and of those who succeeded to them, in some
cases tracing back to the 14th and 15th centuries. Place names, proverbial
sayings, songs[1] and traditional ceremonial mats have historical events associ-
ated with them which are still known. There are songs, sometimes accom- 533
panied by dances, which relate ritual or historical events. At Kolovai, where 535
I come from, we perform a *lakalaka*, a dance performed by lines of men [114]
and women and accompanied by singing. This *lakalaka*, known as *milolua*,
relates how to carry out the ceremony of kava making. At Lifuka, in
Ha'apai, I recorded a *lakalaka* which recounts the feats of the celebrated
King George who defeated the *Tu'i Tonga* at the war of Velata, fought in
1825-1826.

The traditions are kept mainly by the chiefs of the social group concern- 814
ed or by their *Kau-matāpule* (attendants). Both men and women of chiefly [565]
rank may know the traditions but there are no formal keepers of traditions
as in some African societies. In Tonga certain individuals are especially [554]
well informed, and they may be referred to as *tangata 'ilo* (or *fefine 'ilo* if a
woman) meaning 'one who knows'. Certain social classes have knowledge of
particular traditions, as for instance the *Ha'atufunga* class which knows all
the ceremonial and traditional lore concerned with the burial of kings and
chiefs. The major socio-political units also preserve certain traditions, such
as the rituals and ceremonials connected with the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* royal
dynasty, which are kept by the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a*.

The controversy over the value of oral traditions is well known and 121

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[1] See J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright
(London, 1965), 51-2. [113]

[427 cont.]

114 He [428] will ^admire an elegant flowing robe which involves the whole
291 head and body, in an island where the women very rarely cover
302 the shoulders and breast; and he will be struck with awe and delight by the figure of a divine old man, with a long white beard, though all the people of Ea-oowhe shave themselves with muscle-shells.

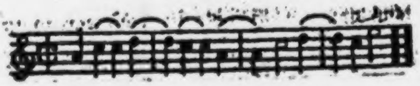
175
123 We soon left the landing place, and followed the chief, who invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side
175
311 rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted
175 shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which
342 might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within
[123] two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green, which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright, and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their
[824] bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

175
● 533
[609]
[123]
[171] [429] We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceedingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical when compared to the Taheitian songs. They beat time to it by snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining

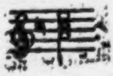
^ [Forster is critiquing an illustration in Cook's published account—Analyst.]

[429 cont.]

175
533 fingers upright. Their voices were very sweet and mellow, and they
sung in parts. When they had done they were relieved by others, who
sung they[a] same tune, and at last they joined together in chorus. A
very ingenious gentleman, who was on this voyage with us, has
favoured me with one of the tunes which he heard in this island,
which may serve as a specimen to the musical part of my readers.



In this little specimen the music is in the minor key, (a flat third.) They varied the four notes without ever going lower than A or higher than E; singing them rather slow, and sometimes ending with the chord



175
609 The kindness of the people was expressed in every look and gesture,
and they freely offered us some coco-nuts, of which we found the
175 liquor very palatable. We were likewise regaled with a most delicious
137 perfume in this place, which the breeze wafted towards us. It was
a considerable [430] time before we discovered from whence it
proceeded; but at last having looked at some shady trees at the back
of the house, we perceived they were of the lemon tribe, and covered
with beautiful branches of white flowers, which spread this fragrant
175 smell. The natives soon brought us some of the fruits, which we
609 knew to be of the kind called shaddocks in the West-Indies, and
262 pomplemoses at Batavia and the adjacent East-Indian isles. Their
shape was perfectly globular, their size almost as large as a child's
head, and their taste extremely pleasant.

175
417 On both sides of the lawn we took notice of a fence or enclosure
351

[a] [sic!---Analyst]

[455 cont.]

175 We likewise
534 found a new musical instrument, consisting of eight, nine, or ten
[283] slender reeds, about nine inches long, joined to each other by some
fibres of coco-nut core. The length of its reeds [456] seldom varied
much, and the long and short ones were placed promiscuously; a
notch was formed at the top of each, and the method of playing was
only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips.
It had commonly not above four or five different notes, and we never
[171] met with one which included a whole octave. Its resemblance to the
syrinx, or Pan's flute of the civilized Greeks, dignified it much
175 more than any music which it contained. From the method of playing
533 it, the lovers of music will easily conceive that this divine art
[184] is entirely in its infancy among the inhabitants. The vocal part,
which is the same as we had already observed it at Ea-oowhe, is very
far from being unharmonious, and the women beat time to it by
snapping their fingers very exactly; but its whole extent is only of
175 four notes, and therefore cannot admit of any variety. They had like-
534 wise a flute of a bamboo-reed, nearly of the thickness of a German
171 flute, which they played with the nostrils, like the Taheitians.
175 They commonly had ornamented it with various little figures, burnt
531 in, and pierced four or five holes in it, whereas the Taheitian flute
322 [534] had but three in all. The method of ornamenting wood by burning
[171] figures into it, was frequently observed in their bowls and various
[415] other utensils.

175 It was near sun-set when we returned on board with our collection,
609 and found the vessels still surrounded by many canoes, and the natives
[831] swimming about extremely [457] vociferous. Among them were a considerable
[171] number of women, who wantoned in the water like amphibious creatures,

[472 cont.]

175 123 before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend
[648] joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was
something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow,
our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him
with an opportunity to exercise his talents. We continued strolling
about for some time, without [473] any sinister accident, and returned
to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the
175 people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different
571 little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and
[517] consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in
conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished
the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with
175 singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular,
142 whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling
302 with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what
was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in
175 graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her
524 actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples,
perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another
continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity,
175 at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed
533 the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oowhe, the different
184 voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes
175 joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives
535 of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list
292 of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts
124 and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of
439

Octopus stone (*maka feke*). A tiger shell is split in halves and 226 fastened to a stone. Sometimes two or three half-shells are tied to the same stone, which is cone-shaped. The result looks like a rat, especially when a long tail is tied to the stone. The rat is trawled by a long line from a canoe, the fisherman who holds the line keeping the stone bobbing up and down in the water to attract the octopus. When the octopus dives for the rat he clings to it and is drawn into the canoe.

Spearing by torchlight (*ama velo*). The torch is made from [416] *toume,* which is the dried sheath that protects the coconut flower. The fish are attracted by the lighted torch which is held at one end of the canoe, and are speared as they swim toward the light.

Torchlight fishing with knives (*ama ta*). The fishermen wade on the reef with torches and long knives.. As the fish swim toward the light they are cut down.

Shark fishing with a noose (*noo aga*). In Tonga the great shark- [533] fishing grounds are between the islands of Eua and Tongatabu and it is here that the fishermen go in their canoes to sing their song to Hina, as follows: "Hina hau o mau ho sisi Ka mau mamata" (Hina, come and receive your garland of flowers so we may see). While the men are singing or chanting these words, they are also beating the sea with coconut shells attached to a long stick. There is a legend 226 which tells of Hina, a beautiful woman who lived at Hala Kakala 773 (road of flowers), and of how she was drowned in a whirlpool near Eua. While racing in a canoe with her lover, Sinilau, the whirlpool caught them and Hina was lost. From the spot where she was drowned sprang up the sharks, and to this day the people believe that their song to Hina will call the sharks to the reef. As they come 226 toward the canoes, they are noosed and killed with clubs.

Fish traps (*bola*). These traps are made by splitting the leaves of the coconut palms and plaiting them. They are then spread over a long stretch of reef when the tide is low. As the tide rises, natives wade out and prop up the leaves, thus trapping all fish that are in the enclosure. Hundreds of people; men, women, and children, form a line outside the *bola* waiting until the tide is out, to prevent the fish from escaping with the outrunning tide. At a given signal everyone jumps into the enclosure and spears the fish while they are in shallow water. More than a thousand fish may be speared at one time in this way.

214 students to operate it (Moulton 1921:53). Out of this press came scores of books, pamphlets and periodicals which he himself had written or, with the help of his students, translated into Tongan. Among those Moulton translated were two volumes of world history, two volumes of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, *A Geography of the Holy Land*, and a *Life of Jesus Christ*. The College magazine published, among other things, world news and collections of outstanding Tongan poems. [779] A complete translation of the Holy Bible was published by the Foreign Bible Society in 1862. A hymn book and catechism were also published.

797 Music was given special attention. Religious poems were written
by Tongan poets and poetesses and set to traditional tunes. These
533 songs really captivated the interest of the Tongans, for whom
538 they made Christian teaching and Bible stories more alive and
meaningful. Robert Young (1854:228) recorded a literal trans-
533 lation of one of these when he visited Tonga in 1853:

539

A guilty world stood exposed to wrath,
But Jesus beheld it in love.
(Chorus of response)
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

In Gethsemane's garden he sweat drops of blood,
That for us he might slay the last foe
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

Thou saidst to thy few disciples there,
That sorrow oppressed thy soul.
And we weep whilst we sing thy dying love.

He was judged to cruel death,
Yet he opened not his mouth
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

We look to thy wounded side, once pierced
By the Roman soldier's spear.
And we weep whilst we sing thy dying love.

We pray and not faint in Jesus's name,
And worship for evermore,
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

(Both words and tune were prepared by a poetess, Siokāpesi Fehi'a.)

Moulton ran into some difficulty when he tried to introduce 874
formal music training in his college. He thought that the best
way to teach music to the Tongans was to use tonic solfa. However, 533
he soon found to his embarrassment that some of the common combinations of notes of the tonic solfa were obscene in Tongan. He then ingeniously devised a special notation, using numbers (Moulton 1921:54):

to	lu	fa	ma	ni	o	no	tu	fi	va	a	hi	to
3	3̸	4	4̸	5	6	6̸	7	7̸	8	8̸	9	3̇

The Tongans are very proud of this notation and it has really enhanced their interest in and enthusiasm for music. Hymns and classical masterpieces were transcribed into the new notation and sung by several hundred voices in each choir. The College itself, naturally, took the lead and its students spread its use to the villages throughout the country.

Charles Tucker and his wife introduced some improvement 876
in teaching methods in Ha'apai as early as 1835 by grading 797
students according to their progress. Matthew Wilson followed this up at Hihifo in Tongatapu in the early forties and found the method very popular among his students. Further attraction was also created by the introduction of the Glasgow method by Amos towards the end of the forties, proving the missionaries right in the belief that the method would suit the Tongans.

Meanwhile the infants' or children's school developed by Mrs 872
Wilson at Vava'u proved so successful that it soon spread to the other islands. Young boys and girls now attended and it became very popular. Annual school feasts for the examination of the 872
infant schools were organised at least at Vava'u and Ha'apai, and 527
prizes were awarded for outstanding achievements. These school feasts captured the imagination and interest of the entire population of the two groups and became delightful annual events for the whole community.

In Tongatapu, school examination also became a big attraction. 873
King George himself, the Queen and some of the chiefs became patrons of various schools. In his visit to Tonga in 1850 Lawry [643]

CS7

for two reasons: to obtain some guns from Kaufana, his relative 643
in 'Eua; and to consult his grandfather's brother, Aleamotu'a, and
his uncle, Ulakai, concerning the ultimate fate of Laufilitonga. As 669
he was leaving Lifuka, he and his men sang the following [533]
tau'a'alo (chant): [539]

Ha'apai e tefua ki Fanganonu
Kau 'alu ki Tonga 'o fakapatonu
Liu mai ke ta motuloutou.

[Ha'apai assemble at Fanganonu
While I go to Tonga for the final decision
Return to render asunder.]

Tāufa'āhau obtained the guns he wanted from Kaufana, who 643
also sent his son, Puakatau, to assist and to instruct in the use of 669
the weapons. Puakatau proved to be one of the most outstanding
warriors of the last battle.* 701

The advice given to Tāufa'āhau by his great-uncle and uncle 643
was to defeat Laufilitonga but to spare his life. On his return
journey with a few men from Tongatapu, he recruited more 669
warriors from the southern islands of Ha'apai, especially Nomuka, Ha'afeva and 'Uiha. With their support, particularly Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva and the two sons of Malupō from 'Uiha, his victory was ensured.

It was a tribute to Tāufa'āhau's leadership that he was able to win the support of these warriors, largely by his personal approach and great interest in people. When he arrived at Ha'afeva, Havealeta, the chief of the island, and his men were making preparations to go to Velata to assist Laufilitonga if there should be further trouble. After being told of this, Tāufa'āhau returned to his canoes, but he was stopped on the way by the sight of a little girl, the daughter of Havealeta's sister.

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* Tradition maintains that Puakatau was shot dead by the 'Uiha warriors as he tried to enter the fortress of Velata. Some claim that the 'Uiha warriors were jealous of his outstanding performances, while others believed that the 'Uiha warriors feared that Puakatau would have killed Laufilitonga had he been able to get into the fortress. It was not only that the 'Uiha warriors were closely related to the Tu'i Tonga, but Tāufa'āhau also gave instructions that Laufilitonga's life should not be harmed.

they were capable of intensive labour to supply their needs. To the 797
missionaries, however, all idleness was a breeding ground for sin 461
and crime, and they determined to put an end to it. A reflection
of this sentiment may be seen in Section 3 which exhorts the chiefs 671
to show love to the people under them but to require them to be
industrious and perform their duties to the government and to [461]
the chiefs. It also states that the chief should apportion land to
the people, sufficient to enable them to procure the necessities of [425]
life and support a family. And in order to safeguard the gardens,
provision was made to that effect in Section 5 which prohibited [231]
anyone to allow his pigs to run loose and damage other people's
gardens.

Sale of rum and other spirits to the Tongans was a cause of 273
constant worry to the missionaries. One of the later missionaries
wrote to the General Secretary of the mission on the subject. 'What 797
will be said when a Tonga man drinks 3 bottles of strong spirit in
one day and laughs at it and says he did not take enough to make
himself drunk, and yet this is the case. Will not the curse of the
Holy one be upon those Europeans who thus bring the cup of death
to this (sic) . . . islanders' (Baker to Eggleston, 18 Dec. 1861,
Baker 1860-79). Some years later, when one of King George's [165]
sons died, the missionaries did not hesitate to attribute his death
to excessive drinking. The prohibition of the sale of hard liquor 671
by the new laws and its being punishable by 'a fine to the King
of Twenty Five Dollars'[2] and a liability 'to have the spirits taken 689
from him', was obviously a reflection of the missionaries' sentiment.

The missionaries' attitude to heathen customs and traditions 797
(especially those which had any religious connection) was one of
uncompromising intolerance. They identified Christianity with 183
'civilisation' and the latter with the habits and customs of an
English town or village, and anything contrary to them, such as
Tongan customs and traditions, was uncivilised or unchristian,
and therefore ought to be destroyed. Bishop Blanc (1934:38)
asserts that 'It seemed to be the aim and object of the former
[Wesleyan missionaries] to instill into the minds of the people the
idea that all pleasures were sinful. To this end they prohibited, 671
533

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[2] This was a Spanish dollar and it was worth four shillings sterling. 535

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

671 through Taufaahau, all the early dances and songs and many of
[533] the ancient customs; . . . Through the suppression of the ancient
songs, much valuable information regarding the early history of
[535] Tonga has been for ever lost.' Section 8 of the new law, consistent
689 with the teaching of the missionaries, specifically mentions tradi-
[304] tional customs such as tattooing, circumcision and 'any other
idolatrous ceremonies' which are punishable by fines.

Except for liquor retailing and drunkenness, for inducing sea-
681 men to leave their ships with the intention of staying in Tonga, and
for allowing pigs to run loose and damage gardens, the laws did
not stipulate any fixed punishments. Consequently, punishments
for various crimes were left to the discernment of the magistrates.
681 Desiring to inflict penalties in accordance with Christian prin-
797 ciples, King George and his magistrates naturally consulted the
missionaries on the matter:

> The King [wrote one missionary] came up to ask our opinion about punishing those who violate the laws of the land. They have punished them of late by beating them in the face with the fist. We told the King that we did not like the manner of punishing culprits, but that like himself we were at a loss to give any new mode which would be useful as almost every kind had been tried and had failed . . . We recommend hard labour and to appoint officers to look after those appointed to work. (P. Turner, Journal, 28 Feb. 1842)

[798] The consultation of the missionaries on this matter gave rise to
resentment, and mission houses at Neiafu were burnt down and
Peter Turner (Journal, 18 Aug. 1845) told King George that the missionaries no longer wished to be consulted on the subject of punishment, since 'the most abandoned of our people might think that we influenced the judges to inflict certain punishments upon them'.

671 Thomas recorded in his journal on 20 November 1839 that the
Vava'u Code would be put in force at Ha'apai too, which group
643 was also under Tāufa'āhau's rule from 1820. It appears, however,
that these laws had been acted upon in Ha'apai long before this date, for Dr Lyth (Journal, 12 Dec. 1838), who was working at Ha'apai at the time, reported in December 1838 that 'The King [Tāufa'āhau] assembled the people from all the islands [of

MUSICAL ACCULTURATION IN TONGA

By Major R. Raven-Hart

533 A FEATURE which appears to have received little attention in anthropological study is that of the changes made to adapt " Western " music to the indigenous
177 musical taste. It is suggested that a study of such changes might lead to the
121 establishing of a musical idiom for the area concerned, in the way that the Scottish " snap " and the Maori *hianga*-slide have been established as typifying those idioms. Such a study should be of particular value where the original indigenous music has been entirely, or almost entirely lost, as is regrettably the case in most of " Trinesia " (to coin a term to embrace Poly-, Micro- and Melanesia).

It is obvious how such changes occur, and in fact must occur, where the original tunes are not readily available in printed form. Someone from a village, for example, hears on a visit to a town a new and attractive tune in church or on the street. He is unlikely to know the staff notation ; he is more likely to carry the tune, more or less correctly, in his head than to write it down then and there in the very practical numerical " sol-fa " notation used on many of the islands. On his return home he sings the tune, almost inevitably with variants to suit himself ; others pick it up from him, and in their turn introduce their own variants. Finally, a new version settles into use.

121 During a ten-week stay on Vava'u Island many such variants were noted ; the help given by the Rev. K. D. Grove, Chairman of the Methodist District, must
[128] be gratefully acknowledged, as also that from Mr. P. Latu, choirmaster, and Mr. L. Manu, choir member of the Methodist Church ; the Rev. Fr. Gregory and Mr.
[101] Tapueluelu, Headmaster of St. Joseph's (Roman Catholic) school ; and from many others, ranging from small boys to professional musicians.

It had not been thought probable that any material could be collected during a two-week stay at Apia, but thanks to the Rev. P. Kightley of the L.M.S. there,
[128] and to the boys of his school, some interesting variants were obtained. Samoan material is enclosed in square brackets.

128 The following is a small selection from the material collected, well-known tunes having been preferred whenever possible. The author would be very grateful for any further material, especially from the less accessible islands (Cook, Nieue, Gilbert, etc.). To simplify typography, a modified sol-fa notation has been used, " x " standing for a rest, and the beats being divided by colons. Notes within the octave upwards from the keynote are in roman capitals, below that keynote in lower-case italics, and above that octave in parentheses.

[p. 110]

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177
[171]

(1) There is a tendency for passing-notes to be introduced or preferred, AC becoming ABC, for example, or AGC becoming ABC.[This is also true for Samoa.] A good example is Mason's tune for "Nearer to Thee," in the Sankey and Moody hymnbook. The original is: G major, 6/4, B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:–:G:–:B | A:–:–:–:–:x | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:–:A | G:–:—:–:–:x | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:–:B:D:–:– | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:–:B:A:–:–: | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:–:A | G:–:–:–:–:x. This becomes: B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:G:A:B | A:–:–:–:–:x | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:G:A | G:–:–:–:–:x | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:C:B:D:–:– | D:–:–:E:–:D | D:C:B:A:–:– | B:–:–:A:–:G | G:–:*e*:*e*:–:– | *d*:–:G:*f*:G:A | G:–:–:–:–:x.

(2) Short phrases tend to be repeated without change where the original varies them. Sullivan's "St. Gertrude" ("Onward, Christian Soldiers") is unchanged for the first three lines, but then substitutes for the original DCBC/DCBC/DCBA/G the perhaps more effective repetition DCBA/DCBA/DCBA/G, and continues to vary to the end of the refrain: F major, 4/4, F:*c*:F:*c* | F:*e*:F:G | G:G:F:G | A:–:–:– |A:C:(F):E | (F):–:C:– | B:A:G:–,F | F:–:–:–. Here the first bar is a theft from the bass, which, with the inevitable avoidance of unison (section 4 below) goes instead to FECE.

[171]

(3) Accidentals are disliked in Tonga [and in Samoa]. A good example is the Converse "What a Friend," perhaps better known to "When this Something War is Over," which takes the form shown in example "A." Here the second note in bar 9 shou'd be F-sharp: most sang G for it, though F-natural was also heard, with an odd effect. Passing-notes appear in bars 1, 5, 13, of which the last note in each case is F in the original; and in bars 4 and 12 where the second and third notes are added. Bars 2, 6 and 14 also introduce notes, the final F helping towards the C following in the next bars. In the original, bars 7 and 15 do not repeat bar 5, but take the form C:–,F:AG:FE (which was also heard at times). The change here exemplifies the liking for repetitions (section 2 above) and perhaps also the dislike of the "Western" ending (section 9 below).

A tune which has been oddly twisted, apparently both to avoid accidentals and to gain repetitions, is Beaty's "Caritas," from the 1904 Methodist Hymnbook, of which the original form is shown in example "B." In the variant, bars 1 and 2 (and 4, 6 of the repeat) are unchanged; bars 3 (and 7) change to G:–:F:–,E to give the "level" ending referred to in section 9 below; bars 4 (and 8) are unchanged. Then for bar 9 the eleventh bar of the original is sung, for bar 10 the tenth; and for bars 11 and 12 these same two bars eleven and ten of the original are sung in that order, avoiding the B-natural of bar 12. The remainder is unchanged, except for GFE in bar 15, as in bars 3 and 7.

(4) It is obvious that the lower parts are even more likely to be altered than is the melody. Thus, for example, the bass part of Giardini's "Moscow" ("Thou whose Almighty Word"), in which the melody is unaltered, takes the form: G major, 3/4, G:B:C | D:–:D | (G):–:– | (G):F:(G) | E:–:(G) | D:–:– | B:G:B | D:–:– | D:(G):F | (G):–,D:E | D:(G):F | (G):–,D:E | C:B:A: | G:–,A:B | C:D:D | G:–:–. In the original, bars 11 and 12 do not repeat 9 and 10, but introduce accidentals, the variant thus

85: Raven-Hart G,R-3 (no date) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
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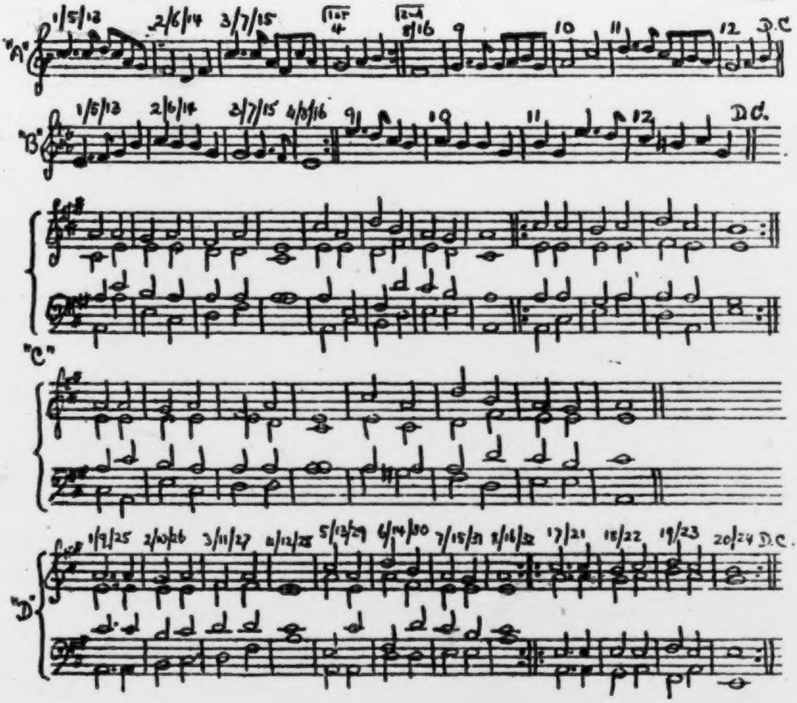
533 exemplifying sections (2) and (3) above. But the outstanding feature is that in bars 7 and 8 the unison of all parts in the original is discarded.

177 [171] Unison is detested in Tonga [and in Samoa]. If two boys sang a tune for me, one would invariably drift off either to a second or to a descant; if three, both second and descant would probably appear. Altos often sing their part an octave higher, as a descant; even tenors and basses often take their parts above the soprano melody, singing in falsetto. In fact, even in church it is often difficult to recognize the melody unless one already knows it; and when a group is singing on a boat or a verandah, the listener often discovers that no one at all is singing the melody. As a Tongan lad put it: " But everyone *knows* that tune: no fun to sing it ! " The result is often disconcerting, an " Enigma Variation " where one feels sure that one knows the tune, but cannot hear it.


"A"
1/5/13
2/6/14
3/7/15
1st 4
2nd 8/16
9
10
11
12
D.C
"B"
1/5/13
2/6/14
3/7/15
4/8/16
9
10
11
12
D.C.
"C"
"D"
1/9/25
2/10/26
3/11/27
4/12/28
5/13/29
6/14/30
7/15/31
8/16/32
17/21
18/22
19/23
20/24
D.C.

171 (5) Undoubtedly some of the variants noted originated as tenor or bass descants (e.g. that of section (2) above). [Samoa provided an excellent example of this, Jackson's " Trentham " (A.T. 3 in the new Methodist Hymnbook), which took the

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form: F' major, 6/8, C:(F):E:D:–:A | C:–:–:–:–:x | C:C:C:D:–:D | E:–:–:–:–:x | 171
C:D:D:C:–:A | A:G:A:B:–:– | F:*e*:F:A:–:G | F:–:–:–:–:–. Here it will be found by reference to the original that the first four bars are stolen from the tenor (which of course goes off on a course of its own rather than accept unison with the sopranos), except that in the first bar an A replaces the accidental B-flat of the original (section 3 above). Then the next two bars are entirely new; and for the last two bars the original soprano part reappears.]

The "Trinesian" aptitude for instantly extemporizing parts to a newly-heard tune has been remarked on by many writers (e.g. King for Fiji, who tried them with classical melodies). Caillot, however, writes for Tahiti that although "harmony is innate in them" and "they never sing except in chorus," yet "they have known harmony only since they have been in contact with civilization," which, if true, is more than odd.

(6) A particularly interesting case is that of Burgoyne's "Spanish Chant," since 533
not only was the accepted variant fully noted, but a sub-variant was actually heard 177
in process of development. The original is given as example "C": no metronome-mark is shown, but the probable speed is in the order of 80 semibreves to the minute, at the most.

Tonga sings it about three times as fast, and changes to a dotted rhythm in 533
the first bar of each phrase, giving the really exciting tune of example "D." It 177
will be noted that bars 25 to 32 exactly repeat bars 1 to 8, thus avoiding the accidental of bar 29 in the original (sections 2 and 3 above). The use by the bass in bars 17 to 24 of the opening melody is very attractive; the alto part in these bars exemplifies the fondness for following the melody a third below, as mentioned later (section 13). Some of the harmonies may seem peculiar, but were transcribed [126]
from the numerical sol-fa manuscript score lent by the choirmaster, and can therefore be guaranteed.

After this had been recorded, a boy was heard whistling the melody. Bar 7 did not please him; after repeatedly whistling the first six bars he hit on EDCB for the seventh, and enthusiastically adopted it; and after a few repetitions altered (as was to be expected) the B of bar 6 to a D, better to lead into the run. This run suggested that something similar should occur in the next phrase, and he tried, for bar 19, the run DCBA. This was at once abandoned, and EDCB and FEDC were tried, in both cases with the C of bar 18 changed to a D as a passing-note. The attractive alternative of putting this FEDC run into bar 20 was also tried, with the C of bar 18 becoming an E to lead to it; but this did not find favour. When he broke off at a call from his house he seemed to have settled down to the form: A major, 4/4. A:–:–:A | *g*:–:A:–: | *f*:–:A:–: | *e*:–:–:– | C:–:A:–: | D:–:D:–: | E:D:C:B | A:–:–:– | repeat these eight bars, then C:–:–:C | B:–:D:– | F:E:D:C | B:–:–:– | C:–:–:C | B:–:D:– | F:E:D:C | B:–:–:– | and finally again repeat the first eight bars.

(7) Examples were also collected from secular songs (though the demarcation is not strict, "Geneviève," "Annie Laurie," and "Loch Lomond" all ranking as hymn-tunes). A singing competition for schools set "Auld Lang Syne" as one of

533 177 the test-pieces; many variants were heard, especially of the ending, when small boys sang the tune for fun after the competition: C:–,*a*:*a*:*b* | C:–:–, C:–,*a*:*g*:*b* | C:–:–, and especially C:–,C:*a*:*b* | C:–:– were the commonest, showing the preference for passing-notes.

(8) One variant recorded is too amusing to omit, although it does not illustrate any of the points under discussion: C major, 4/4, x:x:x:ED | C:–,C:(C):–,A | A(C):x:x:A | G:EC:D:ED | D:x:x:ED | C:–,C:(C):–,A | A(C):x:x:A | G:EC:D:–,C | C:x:x:G | B:–,(C):(D):G | G:x:x:G | B:–,(C):(D):G | G:x:x:ED | C:–,C:(C):–,A | A(C):x:x:A | G:EC:D:–,C | C:–:–. The tune asked for was "Annie Laurie": the obvious title for the variant is "Swannee Laurie." (Has it been suggested that Stephen Foster had the Scottish tune at the back of his mind when writing "Old Folks at Home"?)

533 177 171 (9) It is not suggested that the above characteristics—passing-notes, repetitions, the avoidance of accidentals—are typically "Trinesian." On the contrary, they might be expected wherever foreign music is introduced to a people not making full use of musical notation. One feature, however, which may prove to be typical of the musical idiom of "Trinesia" is the dislike of the common "Western" ending in keynote-semitone down-keynote, CBC for example; and a preference for a "level" ending, CCC. (This has of course nothing to do with the frequent repetition of the keynote *after* the Western melody is ended, on an unaccented beat of the bar, to allow for the fact that many words are accented on the penultimate syllable. Thus, where a Western melody may end, in a four-beat bar, with E:D:C:–, it may be necessary when singing indigenous words to make it E:D:C:C. Nor, of course, is it implied that the "level" ending is unknown in Western music, though it is there to be found chiefly in folk-songs, and not very frequently.)

171 In the Torres Strait (see the Bibliography) examples were collected where the CBC ending was deliberately levelled; examples from Fiji are included in another paper now in the press. Other examples are to be found in Andersen (see the Bibliography) for New Zealand and the South Pacific generally, on pages 114, 115, 117, 118, 159, 378, etc. The frequency of the CBC type of ending in the West, especially in church music, can be realized from the fact that random samplings of the first hundred hymn tunes in the Methodist Hymnbook gave more than one in every five with this ending, and of the first hundred chants, more than one in every three.

533 177 171 The Tongan musical tradition does not seem to be sufficiently strong to make such radical changes as in the Torres Strait, but there is a definite tendency to avoid the "Western" ending. For example, see the sub-variant in section (6) above; or the end of Dykes' "St. Bees" ("Hark, my soul"), where A:G:A:– is replaced by AG:FG:A, the G and F being of course sharps. Many other examples could be given; there seems to be a probability that the preferred alternative may prove to be the descending scale, as in the sub-variant mentioned, with which compare the Maori *hianga*-slide leading to a "level" ending; but sufficient material is not as yet available for this to be more than a suggestion.

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The best examples of the " level " ending in Tongan music are to be found in the popular tunes, which, although in many cases deriving from Western originals, 533
have been so adapted to the local taste that these originals cannot now be identified, 177
or only doubtfully. As Caillot writes : " No European tune can pass the lips of a Tahitian, for example, without being at once so changed in nature, transformed to [171]
such an extent as to become unrecognizable except by a musician " ; and, it might be added, not always by him. When Thomson was in Tonga, such originals were chiefly " Wesleyan hymns, military-band marches and Mozart's ' Twelfth Mass ' " ; to-day they are hymns, film tunes and Handel's " Messiah."

One such popular tune is " Tui Lavoni " (the name of a ship). This, as played to me by one of the real musicians of the island, has the " Western " ending : F major, 4/4, x:x:x:AB | CB:AG:FA:CC | D:B:–:AB | CB:AG:FG:AB | A:G:–:AB | CB:AG:FA:CC | D:B:–:AB | CB:AF:GG:F*e* | F:–:–. On the other hand, as sung for me by small boys it has the " level " ending : AB | CA:FF:FA:CC | D:B:–:AB | CA:FF:FG:AB | A:G:–:AB | CA:FF:FA:CC | D:B:–:DD | CA:FF:GA:FF | F:F:–.

(10) Another popular tune which presents points of interest is " Tau mai ya " (" Would that I," a love song). Many versions of this were noted : two are given here. The first as it was first recorded : F major, 4/4, FG | A:–,G:BA:GF | F:F:x:*e*F | G:–,*d*:F*e*:*dd* | *d*:–:–:*c*F | A:–,G:BA:GF | F:–,G:BA:GF | F:–,G:BA:GF | F:F:x:*e*F | G:–,*d*:F*e*:*dd* | *d*:–:–. The second in a more repetitious, and apparently more popular form : *c*F | A:–,B:AG:FF | F:F:–,F:*e*F | G:–,B:AG:FF | F:–:–:*c*F | A:–,B:AG:FF | F:F:–,F:*e*F | G:–,B:AG:FF | F:–,B:AG:FF | F:–,B:AG:FF | F:F:x:*c*F | A:–,B:AG:FF | F:–:–. It seems probable that the second is a development of the first ; if so, a Western original for the first version has perhaps been identified, and it may amuse readers to attempt to detect this (somewhat unexpected) original before reading the postscript to this paper.

It will be noted that both versions show the " level " ending very markedly.

[(11) It should, however, be added that, in two variants collected in Samoa, far 171
from any dislike of the " Western " ending appearing, this was actually substituted for a descending scale of the FEDC type, in one case at the end of a repeated phrase, in the other at the end of the tune itself. The former is Hughes' " Cwm Rhondda " (" Guide me "), where the second and fourth lines normally end in C | B:A:G:–, but Samoa prefers the ending CA | G:F:G:–, perhaps by infection from the end of the tune. The second is the 1775 Songbook " Hursley " (" Sun of my soul "), where the original ending is D:D:D | C:–:A | B:A:G | F:–:–} but Samoa prefers D:D:C | B:F:A | G:F:*e* | F:–:–. However, much more material would be necessary before stating that the usual " Trinesian " preference for the level ending is absent, or weak, in Samoa.]

(12) As an experiment to test aural memory, the simple folk-tune " There's a 125
hole in my bucket " was sung some twelve times to a class of about 20 boys aged from 533
eight to fourteen. After ten days no one had enough idea of the tune to attempt it ; 177
it was again repeated some twelve times, but after another week only one boy earned the sixpence promised for a recognizable version, curiously condensing the tune into five notes instead of the original six, and levelling the ending : C major, 3/4.

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125 c(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:A | B:C:C(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:C | C:–. It should
however be added that no words were given with the tune, and that a wordless
533 tune is a mere ghost of a melody for most "Trinesians," so that the test was hardly
177 a fair one. A similar test made in Fiji, with words extemporized, was far more
[171] successful, and is dealt with in the paper mentioned in the Bibliography.

(13) A considerable amount of music is being composed in Tonga to-day, showing
533 strong Western influence. In Thomson's time, their songs were "boating-songs,
177 odes to Nature or to flowers, or laments, but never love-songs." To-day the favoured
subjects are patriotic ditties, love-songs, and songs to Nature, in that order.

When harmonized by the composer, as a rule the alto and tenor parts tend to follow the melody, rarely striking out any melodic line of their own: very frequently the alto is merely a succession of thirds below the melody, as in the example D, and, as Thomson wrote, "A procession of consecutive fifths seems to afford them peculiar delight." The bass is the important part, and is often given a series of duologues with the other three parts combined. These points were well illustrated in a recent choral composition set as a test-piece (far more suitably than foreign music) for the singing competition already mentioned.

The favouritism shown to the basses is justified by their excellence, both in
quality and range; one bass complained to me that he could sing "only" two octaves
really well, from middle C down; another happily produced *four* octaves, from
A below the bass clef upwards, with a very smooth transition to a strikingly pure
[534] falsetto. Favouritism is also shown in the hymn-singing, many of the tunes being
pitched somewhat high for the sake of the basses; there are, Heaven be praised,
no organs or other instruments in Tongan churches, and the choirmaster has merely
a pitch-pipe to guide him. It is most sincerely to be hoped that no false ideas of
progress, no pseudo-sophistication, may bring in organs or bands to spoil what is
undoubtedly the best part-singing in the Pacific.

Another "progress" threatened is the production of a tune-book in the numerical sol-fa notation, especially undesirable should it merely transcribe from the Western hymn books the "correct" tunes and harmonies; if so, it is to be hoped that Tongan musical obstinacy will be able to ignore these in favour of their own traditional variants.

Postscript.—The suspected original for the first tune to "Tau mai ya" is the
plainsong "Tonus Peregrinus," used for Psalm 114 ("In exitu Israel") only, and
[795] adapted also as an Anglican chant for this psalm. But there is no Anglican church
on Vava'u, nor is this plainsong used in the Roman Catholic church there—and at
most it could be heard once a month only.

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Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter 644
of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater [562]
respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha
(= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha
was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married
the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in
1852.(7)

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental 565
superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and 622
were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained
a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent 181
that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. 461
They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours
in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other 181
island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race.
Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves
from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.(8)

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) [177]
and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous
state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed
fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not 361
live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was
boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and
taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time.

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a 181
tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship
captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures [609]
suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in
the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with
genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety
and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears
of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had
recourse to their religion.

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger.(9) 771
Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making 782
supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulotu, the paradise beyond the 773
ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was
no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated 776
with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. 533
Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured [776]
lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore.

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was 771
believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by [643]
marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely [565]
related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the
many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both 565
religious and social reasons. Pulotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was 775
held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life.

[1841-1847]

catechists and preachers he used theological lectures prepared by the saintly 797
John Hunt who died in Fiji in 1848. Amos's institution became a model also in 874
its appearance; the homes of the married students were set in trim gardens and [351]
connected with well-kept paths. His students worked four hours each day in their
food-gardens on the block of 20 acres set apart for them. [877]

On his second visit in 1850, Lawry held an examination day for all the 797
Tongatapu schools. It was a great festival indeed. Lawry stood on Zion Hill and 872
was overwhelmed with emotion as he thought of the conditions that he found in
1822-3 and as he now saw the approaching lines of schools from the different
villages, accompanied by their choirs:

> "The processions emerged from the luxuriant groves of evergreens and shade, and [533]
> ascended the Chapel Hill, with measured step and slow pace, singing their 'songs of
> degrees' (psalms of ascents), the females taking their part and the men theirs, all joining
> in full chorus." (21)

So successful was the work of Amos in Nuku'alofa that other schools on his
model were set up. Still designated "Superintendent of Schools", Amos was
appointed to Vava'u. The Ha'apai Circuit in 1850 gave a glowing account of its [644]
schools; it referred particularly to Queen Salote (Lupe Pau'u), then resident in
Lifuka:

> "She not merely attends as a teacher, but tries to improve herself and, although an elderly lady, yet she makes constant improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic." (22)

Much depended upon the influence of the chiefs in the various districts, and [622]
reports showed that in some cases schools lapsed altogether because of the apathy
of the elders and their failure to encourage the children to attend. The imposition [689]
of civil penalties (e.g., fines) sometimes helped. Schools for adults gradually ceased. [871]

King George had strongly supported Amos's work at Nuku'alofa and this 797
school continued to flourish after Amos removed to Vava'u.(23) The sermon most 871
often quoted on the subject of education was given by the king in Fiji on his way
to Sydney in 1853. The text was Hosea iv. 6, "My people are destroyed for lack 643
of knowledge". In his sermon he declared that the Europeans had the advantage [829]
over Tongans, not in physical but in intellectual equipment, and their fundamental
strength lay in the Bible, the source of true knowledge. The king's words set the
goal for the future Tupou College.

The king in that sermon expressed what all Tongan converts believed; 797
Christianity was the religion of a Book. The Anglican divine, William Chillingworth, 779
may have exaggerated the case when he said in 1638, "The Bible and
the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants", but every Protestant missionary
considered it essential that the translated Scriptures should be in the hands of
converts as soon as possible. The Roman Catholic priests in the Pacific had some
justification for calling the Protestants "the Biblical missionaries". The pioneers,
Nathaniel Turner and his colleagues, knew the importance of not only the
Scriptures, but the catechism, hymns, and a simple liturgy for the people's use.
The 1841 District Meeting, under John Waterhouse, set up a Translation
Committee. The Meeting decided to "avoid as far as possible the introduction of
foreign words" and also recommended that a specially qualified missionary be
added to the staff for translating,

> "as the missionaries in Tonga do not profess a critical knowledge of the original tongues". (24)

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1843-1906]

Cargill, who had just returned from Fiji to Britain, was sent in 1843 in response to that request; as a linguist he was of the same high order as J. E. Moulton who came over twenty years later. 797 779

Some small portions of the Scriptures had been in print since 1833 and these had been revised and reprinted several times. The missionaries had been allotted various books of the Bible for translation. Although Thomas's journals and those of his colleagues refer frequently to this work it made only slow progress. It took twenty years to produce a complete Tongan New Testament. In 1849, at last, 4,000 copies of the New Testament were printed on the press in Vava'u.

Rabone was reluctant to criticize his brother-in-law, John Thomas, but the tardiness in translating irritated him. His journal stated that, on 20 June 1846, he received a complete copy of the Samoan New Testament after the L.M.S. missionaries had been in Samoa only ten years. He wrote,

> "O, the years we have wasted . . . while others have got the Word of God into the hands of the people. . . . Shame on us for verily we are guilty." (25)

On 12 December 1846 he heard of what the Wesleyans in Fiji had done in ten years, and commented,

> "They are making progress in the work of translation. I am ashamed for this district; we are not of one heart and mind, therefore we do not go as well with our work. They are of one mind in Fiji and therefore their work tells well." (26)

The dilatoriness of the Chairman is implied in Rabone's words on 25 June 1847:

> "We have not held a District Meeting since March 1845; also our printing is at a standstill and needs a new impulse. We are expecting a visit from Mr. Lawry." (27)

It was this District Meeting in 1847 over which Lawry presided that gave the new impulse for which Rabone and others were looking. With regard to translating, Lawry recorded —

> "This work has very urgent claims upon us, and those claims have existed for several years; but there is no sufficient reason why they have not been met long ago. I here record the opinion of most of the Tonga missionaries." (28)

It was decided that Rabone should revise the New Testament and continue with Old Testament translation. Rabone also laid later generations under obligation to him by his painstaking work in producing a Tongan-English Vocabulary and Grammar, printed on the mission press in Vava'u in 1846. Rabone accomplished a great deal of his translation before he had to leave Tonga in 1850 when West, Davis and Adams continued the Old Testament translation. The final production was largely the work of West. [113]

Editions of the New Testament were published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1850 and 1854. Robert Young, the deputation from the British Wesleyan Conference, brought 10,000 copies on his visit in 1853. Thomas West had the satisfaction of seeing the whole Bible published by the Bible Society in 1862, after he had returned from Tonga. His was the translation used until Moulton's new version in 1880 (New Testament) and 1906 (Old Testament). West's is substantially the version which the present dissenting churches, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga, are using, instead of Moulton's.

The Wesleyans in both Tonga and Fiji used liturgical forms of worship. It is true that they encouraged extemporaneous prayer but they knew the value of ordered worship. With the Tongans' love of music there was no difficulty in accustoming the congregation to take part in a sung liturgy. Reference has been 797 796 [533] [779]

[1841 - 1850]

made to the sonorous singing of the *Te Deum* at the marriage of Taufa'ahau's 797
daughter, Salote, to the Tu'i Pelehake in 1839. The District Meeting in 1841, 796
influenced by John Waterhouse and his experience of the Book of Common 779
Prayer in English Wesleyan services, decided that John Wesley's Abridgement of Morning Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer should be translated and should be used in all the large chapels where missionaries could guide the worship. John Thomas was anything but a high churchman or ritualist but he and the other missionaries loyally accepted the ruling.(29) The Hymn-book of 1849 had 189 hymns, the Morning Prayer service, and also the catechism. In the 1853 edition the Litany and Collects occupied 40 pages and the catechism 72 pages.

Lawry, in his 1850 visit, commented upon the worship in Zion, Nuku'alofa:

> "The serious devotional tone of this host of worshippers would bear a comparison with any congregation I ever saw in England. . . . The beautiful harmony with which they went through the responses in the Morning Service was very affecting, in tones like the sound of many waters. . . . Both the singing and the praying were performed by the entire congregation." (30)

A visiting Anglican physician, Dr. W. H. Harvey, of Trinity College, Dublin, made particular reference to the Tongan Wesleyans' use

> "of our noble Liturgy which we always use in the chapel service".(31)

It was this doctor who was so impressed with the need for more support for medical work that he instituted a Protestant Medical Aid Society. At a later date (1878), Sir Arthur Gordon, when High Commissioner, expressed surprise that "the Anglican Prayer Book" had been translated into Tongan and was regularly used by the Wesleyans.(32)

It was Dr. Moulton who retranslated the Liturgy into stately Tongan to replace what the early missionaries had given with their more restricted knowledge of the language. Both versions still stand in the book used by the Free Wesleyan Church although Moulton's is the one commonly used in worship today.

Tongans eagerly adopted European music and forms of worship. They also 797
introduced colourful patterns of their own, such as the watchnight service on 796
new year's eve, when the lights were brought to the church by all families. In [177
the early days these were nut-shells filled with oil.(33) At these services several
preachers dwelt solemnly upon the passing of the old year; after about two hours [533]
the spirit of gravity was changed to a joyous welcome to the new year.

Another part of the missionaries' work was the introduction of treatment 797
for the people's diseases. Tongans had their own treatment which, generally 757
speaking, they have preferred, even to recent times. They were sometimes impressed, however, by the effect of the medicine brought by the missionaries and they were willing to use it if their own herbs failed. A limitation on the missionaries' efforts was the scanty knowledge they possessed. The situation was exceptional with qualified medical practitioners, R. B. Lyth, most of whose ministry was in Fiji, and George Miller. Shirley Baker, who served from 1860 onwards, had acquired a proficiency in prescribing.

An unusual case of a layman's description of what must have been polio- 164
myelitis is found in a letter from Mrs. Matthew Wilson at Hihifo to her parents 165
in England in November 1847. It was remarkable that one who had no medical knowledge whatever should describe symptoms so accurately. Poliomyelitis had

[1924-1942]

Trousers and black coats had been worn in imitation of Europeans, and old Free 241
Church people particularly were addicted to this practice. While Fijian and Samoan 793
preachers had their neat and comfortable native dress, their Tongan counterparts sweltered in their black suits. So conservative were members of Conference that permission was barely obtained, in 1932, for those College students who were local preachers to wear the *vala*. The same concession was obtained for theological students in 1934, and several years later the becoming native attire was adopted throughout the Free Wesleyan Church.

Gradually, other reforms were accepted. Illegitimate infants had not been 795
baptized in church services, to mark the Church's strong disapproval of illicit 848
sexual relationships; the reflection upon the infant was evidently thought to be immaterial. In a country where illegitimacy was over 17% of births, largely [162]
because the parties often preferred not to marry, and where no social stigma was attached to the child or its mother, it was incongruous that the Church should show discrimination in baptizing. Only a part of the service had been used in these cases, and this was done outside a church building. Even Dr. Moulton had felt that illegitimate children should be baptized quietly in his study or baptism left until a child was older. It was not until 1933 that Conference allowed baptism of an illegitimate child with the full service in the church, the mother accompanied by a male relative. The 1934 Conference allowed funeral bells to be rung, 764
irrespective of the circumstances of birth or of death. 533

The 1934 Conference Minutes showed the care being exercised in the conduct 795
of worship. Conference ruled that the elements in Communion were to be received 795
kneeling (the old Wesleyan custom) and no one under fifteen years, normally, was 796
to be a communicant. The Morning Prayer Liturgy, with chanting, in Dr. Moulton's [516]
translation, had been used only in the Wesleyan Church after 1885; the old Free Church people had looked askance at it even after its optional use had been authorized in 1924; they overlooked the fact that the early missionaries had used these forms in an older and weaker translation. Gradually the liturgical forms were adopted.

Music always played a prominent part in Tongan Church worship. Choir 795
competitions, held in conjunction with the Annual Conference, were instituted in 796
1933. The Queen was one of the adjudicators on several occasions. Twice the 533
finals, with a massed choir of over 1,000, were held in the Palace grounds before a vast assemblage. The 50th anniversary of the setting up of the Free Wesleyan Church was celebrated in 1935, when thirty-seven choirs took part in the competitions.

An exceptional incident occurred in 1934 when a relatively small number 795
from the Free Church returned to the Free Wesleyan Church. A minister, John Malamala, with seventy people from the village of Kanokupolu, western Tongatapu, joined the Church.

Princess Fusipala, the Queen's step-sister, had been at school at Auckland 644
for six years, and at Methodist Ladies' College, Hawthorn, for three years. After serious ill-health in Tonga, she went to Sydney for medical treatment but died there on 21 April 1933. Her body was brought to Nuku'alofa for interment in [764]
the royal tombs.

During World War II, on 21 July 1942, the Queen and the nation experienced the grievous loss of the Prince Consort and Premier, Tungi Mailefihi, who died

[1947-1971]

and disposed him to introduce new measures to expand Tonga's productivity. His 644
brother, John Ngu Tu'ipelehake, also studied in Australia, specializing in [178]
agriculture. The princes' double wedding in 1947 was an occasion of great
rejoicing among the people.

In 1953 the Queen visited Britain by invitation, to attend the coronation of 643
Queen Elizabeth. There she won the affection of all who saw her, so that even to
the present day the names "Tonga" and "Queen Salote" are linked in their minds. 484
When she arrived, she soon attracted attention as "the tallest Queen of the
smallest kingdom in the world". Her unaffected, yet regal, manner and her
geniality made her the darling of the British public before the memorable day
when, returning from Westminster Abbey, the Queen would not allow the hood
of her carriage to be raised as protection against a continuous downpour. To the
tumultous cheering of the hundreds of thousands who lined the route, she rode,
waving enthusiastically in response to their cheers, when not wiping the rain from
her forehead with her handkerchief. A leading article in a London newspaper
said, "Few visitors from overseas can ever have endeared themselves so widely
and speedily to the British people as the majestic lady who braved the drenching
of the Coronation procession in her open carriage".

It was with great rejoicing that the Tongan people heard that Queen Elizabeth 648
and the Duke of Edinburgh wished to include Tonga in their itinerary later in the
year. All parts of Tonga vied with each other in preparing lavish hospitality. The 643
Queen vacated her palace for the royal visitors. She felt obliged in courtesy to
drive round the palace all night, and 400 men and women were on guard the
whole time with flaming torches, observing an old custom. The royal party attended
the Sunday morning service at the Centenary Church, with over 2,000 people
inside and many hundreds outside. The President, the Rev. A. E. McKay, with
the Secretary of Conference, Sau Faupula, conducted the service. The choir sang [794]
the "Sanctus" from Bach's B Minor Mass and did so with the verve for which [533]
Tongan church choirs have become renowned. In her message to the royal party
after its departure, Queen Salote said, "I do not doubt that this historic occasion
has renewed the store of faith and joy in the hearts of my people as rain refreshes
a garden".

Tonga has been one of the most serious examples of population explosion. 161
Efforts to increase production and to find additional exports have hardly coped
with the needs of the rapidly expanding population. There has been a marked 163
decline in the death rate and especially in infant mortality, as a result of the [165]
Government's improved medical and public health services. The birth rate,
however, is still high — 29 per 1,000 in 1971. There was an increase of 35% 161
in the population in the ten years, 1956-66. The population (always below 25,000
in the first quarter of the century) had swollen to 77,429 in the census of 1966.
It is now estimated at 95,000 (1975), and to become 118,000 in 1980 — and [433]
this in a small archipelago with a total area of only 269 square miles where the
inhabitants have to grow their food as well as cash-crops. The density of population [162]
is over 500 per square mile in Tongatapu, and much more in the small islands of
Ha'apai where many men have no land. The family planning programme initiated [659]
by the Government has had little effect, largely through conservatism. In 1966, the [842]
average Tongan mother in the 35-45 age-group had slightly more than six
children. The crowding into Nuku'alofa, which has grown from 3,000 fifty years [162]
ago to more than 25,000, has had unfortunate social consequences. Congestion,

[1951-1972]

In June 1968, the centenary of Tupou College was observed; it had been 873
postponed from 1966 because of the Queen's death, the period of mourning, and [643]
the coronation celebrations. There were 10,000 present at the final service at [765]
Toloa, the present location of the College. Another feature was the singing of [533]
Handel's oratorio "The Messiah" by a massed choir of 2,000, formed by village
choirs from all districts, at the Centenary Church, Nuku'alofa. The entire oratorio
was sung from memory and with great eclat.

The development of practical teaching in agriculture and in animal husbandry 874
at Tupou College has made it almost self-supporting. A new science block and [797]
a technical wing have enlarged the usefulness of the College; these were supported
by "The Methodist Million" fund in Australia and the benevolence of the late
Lord Rank in England. The new Hango Agricultural College on the island of
'Eua, opened by the king in 1969, with a property of 420 acres, is designed to
emulate the success of Navuso, the Methodist Agricultural School in Fiji. The 873
value of Tupou High School, established in 1963 for higher academic studies, was
seen when in 1965 the first of its students qualified to matriculate at Melbourne
University; this was the first case of matriculation from a school in Tonga.

The contribution of the Churches to secondary education is revealed by the 795
fact that over 50% of the secondary school students in Tonga are now being 873
educated by the Free Wesleyan Church, about 40% by other Churches, and only
10% in Government secondary schools. In 1972 the Free Wesleyan Church had
2,990 students in six colleges, 2,000 in twenty-one middle schools, 3,999 in 29
primary schools. Other Churches have expanded their educational facilities; the
Mormon College was developed with an expenditure of $4,000,000 in five years
and has reached an enrolment of 1,200 co-educational pupils.

An encouraging instance of better inter-church relationships is the friendliness 795
with the Roman Catholic Church. This has been inspired by the world-wide
influence of the late Pope John XXIII. Agreement was reached regarding a new
translation of the Bible. A noted missionary-linguist, the late Dr. Maxwell [779]
Churchward, who produced, first, a new Grammar and Dictionary for the
Government, revised the New Testament between 1951 and 1961. In August
1962 the two Churches agreed to accept this and to revise the Old Testament
also. The Roman Catholic Church asked for only four words to be spelt according
to its custom (Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and grace). Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea was
commissioned in 1965 to conduct the whole revision. So amicable is the [796]
relationship between the two Churches that in 1972 a choir of 1,000 Free
Wesleyans took part in the service of consecrating a Tongan priest to be the first [793]
Tongan-born Roman Catholic bishop. The Tongan Council of Churches,
established in 1973 (under the auspices of the World Council of Churches),
consists of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the
Church of England. The Free Church and the Church of Tonga have not become
members of the Council of Churches.

The Church has felt itself fortunate in the quality of overseas ministers and 793
teachers who have served in Tonga in this century. A full list appears in the 797
appendix. Special reference is made to the following:—

Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D., served in Ha'apai, and also as Principal of Tupou College, beginning the new section at Nafualu with English as the medium. His published works in Tongan history and anthropology were accepted in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and other learned societies.

175 more existed. There is a specimen in the Vienna collection—but we do not know
292 that it was collected on Cook's voyages. The accession information says only that it
127 came to the Museum für Völkerkunde from Belvedere Castle in 1877 (plate 3a).[9] A

The Cook collection in Vienna was purchased by Leopold von Fictell at the
127 Leverian sale in 1806. According to the annotated sale catalogue, Fictell did not
292 buy a Tongan feather headdress. However, one of the lots that he bought (1445)
was an 'Elegant feather head dress, Brazil' (Leverian Museum 1806: 61). As many of the Leverian lots were not assigned to the correct provenance, it is interesting to speculate that the headdress was in fact from Tonga, but not included in the Vienna Cook collection because Cook did not go to Brazil. Perhaps the Vienna specimen came from the Leverian sale, or from the sale of another private museum, or perhaps it is not from Cook's voyages at all. But it is the only example of a Tongan feather headdress identified so far. It is 31 cm. high and 54 cm. at its widest point.

292 According to well-informed Tongans the feather headdress is called *palā tavake*
643 and was worn only by the Tu'i Tonga. Tradition says that the last one was made for
175 Paulaho by Helu of Foa—perhaps to replace the ones given to Captain Cook.
554 Again, Cook's voyages have given us the only depicted example, the only good
description, and perhaps the only existing piece.

Paulaho died about 1784 and his line was defeated in civil wars shortly after.
643 Following this, there was no need for a *palā tavake* to show the divine exaltation
292 of the Tu'i Tonga because this line was no longer officially recognised. But the
[669] tradition of the headdresses was perpetuated in two quite different ways. Chiefs in
feather headdresses were carved on Tongan war clubs and these exist on several
532 museum specimens. The example depicted (plate 3b) is from the Peabody Museum,
292 Salem, Massachusetts. It would seem that the carving of human figures and other
[177] ideographs did not reach the peak of efflorescence until the coming of European
tools. Perhaps these carvings of chiefs in feather headdresses were stimulated by the high esteem placed on the headdresses by Europeans.

292 That the tradition of *palā tavake* was not forgotten is also shown by a dance text
533 composed by Queen Sālote in 1966:

643 Ke fataki nima he 'aho ko ē	And raise our hearts on this day
[539] Tu'u ai e palā tavake	Stand on the *palā tavake*

The poetry admonishes the people to do things for today and not worry about the past and its bitterness. But in doing so one should still take tradition into account, tradition here being symbolised by the feather headdress of the Tu'i Tonga—Queen Sālote's line of descent through her mother. When translating this text most
[301] Tongans translated *palā tavake* as a feather comb and only a few recognised it as
feather headdress—and it would seem that a comb with red feathers later took the
[178] place of the feather headdress. Feather combs are usually known as *helu kula* and
tradition says could only be used by the Tu'i Tonga line. Queen Sālote is said to have had one—which visually acknowledged her Tu'i Tonga background even though she ruled as a Tu'i Kanokupolu (Ha'a Ngata).

293 Another item which history ascribes to Paulaho is a fly whisk now in the
127 Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. It was bought at the Leverian sale where it was
listed in the catalogue as 'fly flap with a curious ornamented handle. This belonged
643 to Powlohaw King on Tongataboo' (Leverian Museum 1806: 135). This specimen

A, [See End Plate 3, following p. 220--Analyst]

Göttingen example has two holes with a coconut-fibre cord linking them. The Pitt 301
Rivers Museum lacks a cord and has three holes. Large pearl shell ornaments 237
also have either two or three holes for suspension. An example of the latter is an 127
archaeological specimen accompanied by a shell bead, found in Tonga on the chest [172]
of a skeleton. Such ornaments were also in the Forster collection, where they were listed as part of Number 98: 'three mother of pearl shells which hang on the breast'. These three specimens have not been located—but perhaps one of these or a similar one is depicted by Hodges in his engraving of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1*a*). A specimen exists in Bishop Museum which is complete, with human hair and an ivory bead, and demonstrates the use of the holes and the bead found in the archaeological context. The archaeological shell breastplate specimen [172]
would be nearly 12 inches across if complete, indicating that the whale bone item measuring 18 inches in the Pitt Rivers Museum would not be too extraordinary.

Tongan necklaces exist in Museum collections in a great variety of materials and 301
styles. The most elaborate example is in Vienna, again from the sale of the Leverian 127
Museum and probably from Cook's third voyage, perhaps even Paulaho's ornament. Fictell seems to have had the right contacts at the London sale, for the Tongan and other specimens he chose were the best of the Leverian collections—and, by extension, the best from Cook's third voyage. The necklace example (Moschner [237]
1955: 208) combines a large pearl shell with a waterworn pebble (often used for decorating graves of chiefs), groups of bird bones, pointed brown shells, cowrie shells, a shell called *pule'otu* (worn only by chiefs), and shell beads. Also in Vienna [532]
is the only example of a carved human figure so far traceable to Cook's voyages. Two-and-a-half inches high, with holes for stringing at the back of the pendant, this ivory piece may have been Paulaho's. The only other such item of proven eighteenth century date is a depiction in Labillardière (1802: plate 32).

The two specimens in Vienna, again, seem to be the extraordinarily high-ranking 301
types. The more usual types are found in the Pitt Rivers Museum. These consist 127
of long strands of white and dark beads, sometimes in sections, and sometimes 237
alternated, as well as necklaces employing several strands of bird bone. One of the specimens (plate 5*b*) has carved ivory pendants in various shapes—cylindrical beads, which have also been found in archaeological contexts; and an object which resembles the head of a missile, which is also found on necklaces in Göttingen and Dublin. An ivory pendant in the form of a bird is found on this Pitt Rivers specimen, and similar birds are in Göttingen, Vienna, and in a drawing from Labillardière (1802: plate 32).

As a final example of the use of depictions and descriptions from Cook's voyages, 534
it should be noted that even the seemingly unlikely subjects of music and dance can be given new insights by the study of these early materials. These descriptions serve to demonstrate both continuity and change. Webber's drawing of the nose- [175]
flute player, found in the third voyage account, suggests early morning and depicts the seated posture and manner of holding the nose flute. The nose flute was [554]
traditionally used to awaken high chiefs—an honour which was also accorded to [513]
Queen Elizabeth of England when she visited Tonga in 1953, and a photograph [533]
taken at that time is remarkably similar to Webber's drawing. On the other hand, the bamboo stamping tubes drawn by Webber (plate 6*a*), and described by Anderson (Beaglehole 1967: 875), are important because this musical instrument no

A, B, [See End Plates 5 and 6 following p. 220--Analyst]

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. 574
punctuated our days and nights.

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates 575
came from the far-away islands of 462
Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua, 873
so they were daily entertained by a 574
different local village which provided 264
them with three handsome meals, the midday dinner being served on low tables on the *Langa Fonua* back verandah.
A lorry would arrive between [262]
11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily [252]
garlanded would leap forth and unload great plaited coconut frond *pola* or stretchers laden with delicious food—long yams or taro down each side forming a protective wall for the pyramid of whole sucking pigs (the pig population in 1955 was 30,000), chickens, shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef cooked with coconut cream and wrapped in taro leaves) as well as a special local cassava and caramel pudding also wrapped in green leaves.

We would sit, a company of about [533]
35 to 40, on the floor round this long [534]
laden table and eat with our fingers, [535]
helping ourselves freely while the host team entertained us with ukulele, songs and high-spirited dances in which many of us took part as a healthy digestive to
the superb meal. Speeches from the [537]
visitors and hosts took place throughout [201]
the meal, the orator frequently weeping as a gesture of appreciation of such generous hospitality.

Then would follow the afternoon session, which on three days appropriately [177]
consisted of a talk on food values and a cooking demonstration.

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty 621
as other countries throughout the world 873
regarding village work, namely, the 575
problem of keeping up interest without 462
extraneous leadership. The morning
sessions were consequently directed to- 177

wards programme planning related to 621
village needs of each age group as well 873
as simple methods of club organisation. 575
Group discussion on the problems of 462
village life and the opportunities for 177
their solution through *Langa Fonua* produced the request that courses of instruction be held for sectional leaders from the different districts in subjects related to homecraft and health, particularly sewing and cooking, so that each village had its own trained local instructor who could take her part in enriching the programme of the branch meeting.

The afternoon classes consisted of 873
sewing (patchwork and patterns) and 575
cooking, including a brief introduction 462
to food values and the simple home [261]
cooking of basic foods as well as invalid [294]
and weaning diets. It is for concentrated courses on these subjects that the [177]
request came from the delegates and was forwarded to the Central Committee.
Lively songs opened and riotous games [533]
closed the daily sessions. [524]

The leaders went away with a few [177]
new ideas for both the educational and recreational side of their village programme, but primarily with some realisation of what might be achieved in community education through *Langa Fonua*, especially if there were sufficient trained voluntary project leaders.

Variety Of Visual Aids

Visual aids on such topics as The [177]
Village Survey, The Woman in the Home, Building a Programme, Dangers

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE28-B]

/21 cont./

181 The presence of troops on Tongatapu for many years of course had an
177 adverse effect, and these influences fanned out from the main island
831 to the smaller islands. However, it must be said that even today numerous marriages, at least on the /22/ part of the wife, are strictly adhered to (22)

22. Mentioned already in Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 167 ff.

and that they attach great importance, despite a certain freedom of premarital relations, to the chastity of marriageable girls. (23)

23. See p. 106 ff.

181 Measured by a Central European standard the morality of the Tongan
577 women is higher than that of the Tahiti women. (24)
831

24. According to observations of the author in Tonga and Tahiti.

181 Their special love of their country--together with a strong
823 feeling for the beauties of nature (25)--

25. For example, Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 301 ff., already mentions it.

has remained a noteworthy aspect of Tongan character, despite their great interest in distant countries about which the islanders are now learning, and despite the obvious fascination with the expanded Tongan seaports. Their deeply rooted feeling for their native land is such that, for example, many Tongans of the small islands in the Ha'apai group, where the land is no longer adequate to feed the growing population comfortably, prefer, despite many government recommendations, to remain in their villages on their island, instead of going to the main
[533] island where they could obtain sufficient and good land. This love of their native land is also reflected in the songs composed nowadays by the Tongans, more than half of which extol their island landscapes. The seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, despite their relative accessability--numerous native cutters cross the Archipelago daily--and

764 /86 cont./

[354] and a deceased commoner is now probably given more lamps then was
[177] formerly customary and that was permissible, compared with chiefs. It
[565] is forbidden to smoke in the house or to drink kava or eat food. The
[784] village chief, the matapule and other villagers drink kava and eat in
[276] [622] a neighboring house; they talk about the deceased and his good deeds.

[565] If the deceased was a member of the Wesleyan church (like most
[794] Tongans), the choir of the village church come and (usually standing
[533] in an adjoining room of the death house) sing hymns until daybreak.
This is perhaps a substitute for the old individual mourning songs. (243)

243. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 198.

A few relatives have meanwhile gone into the bush in order to gather sticks (for example, of siale mohe mohe) which they lash with bast from the fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) to make the traditional latticed bier (fata). A kinsman has arranged with the pastor the time of burial; the date was, for example, proposed by the widow and the rest of the relatives agree. (244)

244. Many burials take place early in the morning; but afternoon is also a preferred time.

The time of burial has arrived. The satin, the handkerchief and the mats are removed from the deceased, the tapa on which he is lying is folded around him and tied with another piece of tapa. The bier is covered with mats (papa and fala paongo) and tapa (ngatu tahina or ngatu'uli). The deceased is laid on this; the satin sheet and handkerchief are again placed over him and everything is shrouded with one (or two) valuable mat(s) and a large piece of tapa (ngatu'uli).
[202] Then the church bells are rung and ten or 20 younger relatives (not the sons) carry the bier to the graveyard. (245)

[184] 245. In Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) where the graveyard is more distant and the technical facilities are more progressive, the corpse is driven to the grave on a truck.

764 /86 cont./

the grave on a truck.

[602] The nearest relatives follow behind the bier, then the more distant relatives and finally the accompanying villagers. In villages that
[533] have a brass band it walks at the head of the funeral procession and
[177] plays a European "funeral march."

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765
302
As a sign of mourning the widow, the sons and daughters of the deceased, as well as the children of the deceased's younger brothers and the close relatives of lower rank have their hair cut off; among all the other relatives (that is, also sons and daughters of the deceased's sister) the women wear their hair loose, the men /wear theirs/
[178] uncombed. This custom reflects the ancient kinship hierarchy. Other
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formerly customary /87/ practices, such as the burning of spots on the body, the beating and rubbing of the cheeks until they are sore, and the wounding of the head (246)

246. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 223/224.

are no longer observed, just as the custom of sacrificing finger joints for the recovery of higher-ranking relatives (247)

247. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 222.

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643
has not been practiced for a long time. Naturally, the sacrifice of a child (248)

248 Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 220.

and the widow sacrifice (249)

249. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 221.

(once customary apparently only following the death of the supreme ruler, the Tu'i Tonga) has long since been forgotten under Christian influence.

764
794
If the deceased was a Catholic, the body, beside which the priest (or catechist) said prayers during the night in the hut, is borne to church in a procession, and, after the appropriate rite,

/87 cont./
764 *kie-kie lou fau* (252)
531 252. Compare p. 323-324.
or *sisi kakala*, (253)
253. Compare p. 82-84.
mounted between sticks. Some graves are also decorated with borders of
[177] shells or beer /88/ bottles, and in the vicinity of European settlements
or at the suggestion of a white pastor, the Tongans have begun using
crosses and other European-type grave structures of cement (less often
764 cast iron). The graves of Protestants, Catholics and members of the
[794] rest of the faiths in Tonga are the same, except that they have
[184] separate graveyards. The graves of chiefs usually differ from the
[565] resting places of commoners in size and more elaborate decoration. The
graves of the royal family are situated in Nuku'alofa; they are made of
concrete and in shape are reminiscent of the large *langi*, (254)
254. Compare W.C. McKern, *Archaeology of Tonga* /cited in English/. p. 30ff.
the famous grave structures of the old Tu'i Tonga.

764 The village graveyards with their more of less disintegrated,
178 largely unornamented mounds of light sand are a development of recent
times. In olden times, when most of the people lived scattered on
the various islands, commoners buried their dead on their plantations.
(255)

764 255. Compare E.W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*. p. 201.
[533] After arriving at the grave the mourners sing a hymn, the pastor
[779] reads from the Bible (for example, Psalm 90), and the deceased is
lowered into the pit which is spread with tapa (over the old skulls)
of a mat (for example, *fala paongo*),. Then follows the sermon which
[533] includes the life history of the deceased. More hymns are sung.
Over the corpse, which is usually covered with an additional mat
(*fala paongo*), the grave is closed with a slab. The "eldest" turns

/95 cont./

476 for a person may ask one or more fellow-villagers (aside from relatives)
to help with difficult undertakings on the plantations, in house
building or boat building. In general, everyone complies with such a
request, and the work is not paid, but usually acknowledged only with
[821] a good earth-oven meal. Here too community feeling is stronger
(177) than European influences. Thus, in December 1951 on Nomuka, many
476 Tongans of the "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga" /cited in English/
571 helped their fellow villagers of the "apostate" "Church of Tonga" to
794 make cement tiles for a new church building; even the pastor of the
795 Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga took part in this work, and the brass
533 bands of his church provided music for the construction work of the
"apostates."

186 The far-flung kinship of the villagers among each other on many
181 islands is an important, though by no means the sole, cause of this
solidarity. It is rooted above all in the particular Tongan character
[178] traits of good nature and gregariousness, and is strengthened and
443 cultivated by tradition. Even the Tongan traders with their small
181 shops which, as a result of their European-like way of doing business,
178 could be a foreign body in the community, sometimes yield to old
customs. Thus it often happened on Nomuka, for instance, that a
[477] merchant who had run out of certain articles asked his competitor for
them and successfully sold them.

476 The more casual joining together of several villagers in a work project for one of them often takes on a more permanent form by becoming a sort of cooperative organization for mutual aid. For instance, five men may agree to found such a work group, a kautaha, in order to cultivate their plantations. On the first day, all five will work for number one on his land, then for number two, and so on. During this rotation no further member is taken on; however, for the next round they are often willing to increase the number of participants.

/96 cont./

476 takes her place (as the family decides).

476 It is difficult to say whether these kautaha are ancient 178 Tongan institutions. Since government officials usually recommend that the women, for example, make a certain number of mats within a given time, and the festive exhibitions of the kautaha have a certain official character through the presence of the "town officer" /cited in English/, the pastor and the kautaha president (all judges of the exhibited pieces), and since the election of the president strikes one as very European in character, we must assume that this form of the kautaha originated in the more recent period. On the other hand, it seems [285] improbably that formerly the very sociable Tongan women made the large [287] mats and tapa lengths by themselves in their family circle. Surely there were similar work teams in ancient Tonga, which in more recent times then took on the character of the present-day kautaha.

476 The festivals of the women's kautaha on an island like Nomuka 527 have an important place among the few festivities that are observed 574 in the present village community. It is a festive show of accomplishment which may proceed as follows:

The day before the festival a long roofing (of sticks and coconut palm fronds) is erected for the participants on a place in the village. On the morning of the festival several earth-ovens are prepared by the husbands of the various members, with the help of the women and their relatives. The festival (often called a "show" [533] /cited in English/) starts around noon. If there is a brass band in the village it strikes up /97/ and the invited guests of both sexes (that is to say, a large part of the village population) take their [431] seats in no particular order. The tapa pieces that have been brought along as gifts for the hosts are, for the time being, used as seat pads and are later (before the banquet) gathered up by the hosts. The show begins. The women of the kautaha (older as well as younger ones)

/97 cont./

476 527 574 each one brings a long length of tapa and two mats which they spread out before the guests and the judges (for example, the district officer /cited in English/, a few pastors and the presidents of the village kautaha). [533] The brass band plays an accompaniment to this, a group of young Tongans join in with a song and occasionally a woman will beat a large bass drum. [535] The women of the kautaha, young as well as old, are quite boisterous; when they bring out the individual pieces they often dance, sway their hips in time to the music, stride and dance over the outspread splendors, amidst the applause and laughter of the spectators. The judges seriously scrutinize and consider. The show lasts about two hours. Then the drum is beaten, the school bell is rung, the band plays and the coconut-leaf tables (pola kai), (271) laden with food, are brought and arranged in long rows between the guests. [262] [177] [272] Whole roast pigs, baked fish, large crabs, corned beef, /cited in English/ chickens, new yams, bread fruit and bananas from the earth-oven lie piles up on the tables, crowned with earthenware plates of "English pudding" /cited in English/ (resembling gingerbread with a red floury sauce), small cakes and rich cream tortes, in addition to glass jugs with red and yellow, very sweet lemonade. A prayer is said, and people begin to eat. During this meal some ten speeches are made. The district officer or town officer thanks the women for always following the orders of their president and for preparing the entire festival so nicely. Other speakers thank the president of this kautaha and also the women. The president gives out prizes (often in the form of money) for the best pieces; a matapule also delivers a long speech about freedom in Tonga and obedience to the chiefs. A prayer ends the feast and people return home while the band still plays and the hosts fill baskets with leftover food to send to the houses of the

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271. Or corrugated metal tables covered with banana leaves.

527 /98 cont./
574 which is often paid for in advance by collections taken in the congregation.
794 (262) After the meal the guests disperse. The meaning of this
(272) feast is to thank God with food and drink for His blessings, through
(782) the preacher as His intercessor. Undoubtedly this type of festivity
(177) may be traced back to mission activity, but it is now organized by
the Tongan festival. This is shown even more clearly in the large
574 *faka-afe* on the last day of the year. If, for example, eight preachers
793 of the congregation are to speak on the evening of December 31st, a
794 special banquet is given for each of them on this day. The pastor, the
eight lay preachers and their invited guests-- altogether 20 or more
individuals--go from one banquet to another, soon amply fed and without
appetite, but always intent on eating more and leaving a little
room for the next meal (out of courtesy to the host). In serious and
(537) carefully worded speeches they give thanks to God for having taken care
of the community throughout the year which is coming to an end, and for
always having given it sufficient food; nor do they forget, in these
speeches, to thank their respective hosts at great length.

527 The Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost have
177 not acquired deeper significance within the village community, To be
sure, preparations for Christmas, for example, are considerable: weeks
before, people busily make copra, stock quantities of European food
for selling (bagsful of sugar and flour, six-pound cans of corned beef,
etc.), and dress material, and they sew new gala attire. However, the
holidays then pass without special events; only a few young men get
drunk and beat each other up. Many Tongans even continue working on
(621) holidays, and the only function that unites the community (besides
(533) /99/ church attendance) is the performance in many villages of the
(431) large Wesleyan church choir which, during Holy Night, moves from
house to house, like English carol singers, singing British Christmas
carols /cited in English/ and other Tongan-English songs and, in

527 /99 cont./

177 [621] return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players
[533] go about in the same way.

[431] It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion
794 has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village.
177 It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the
182 population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover,
[533] the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs (each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan churches has become important in the community life of many villages, for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and women.

527 Whereas the festivals mentioned (*kautaha-show*, *faka-afe*), the
574 church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the
182 village population (through membership or by special invitation), the
621 old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male Tongan.

276 In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other islands of the South Seas. (273)

273. See J. Cook, *Beschreibung*...VI. p. 224; Johann Reinhold Forster's *Bemerkungen*... /Comments/ p. 416.

[797] Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives
[178] in this custom, (274)

(113) 274. See J.E. Erskine, *Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific*... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and
[171] perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

/101 cont./ The men gathered together
276 (usually between five and fifteen) talk. The older ones speak about
574 their plantations and their remarkable harvests or setbacks, or about
521 fishing and the various methods employed. They will also discuss in
detail the special events on the island and in the Archipelago, and
from minor and harmless occurrences the most exciting stories may
develop. The younger ones take part in these conversations, or they
will chat with the girl preparing the kava. (282)

> 282. She does not drink the kava and may not leave her seat throughout the entire session; once she goes out, another girl must continue in her stead.

[533] Sometimes the younger ones may sing, and then the quiet, even conversa-
276 tion of the older ones will cease. While new kava drink is prepared and
574 served again and again, the group stays together, from early evening,
for example, until far into the night, sometimes even until daybreak.
In this case, the old custom is sometimes observed that the men, on
[431] the next day, will prepare a large earth-oven (possibly with a pit)
as "compensation" for their wives, and the wives will give them gifts
of tapa and mats.

There are no special houses for kava circles within the village.
Every house of a specific minimal size is suitable. In every
village there are several kava gatherings in different houses every
[182] day (especially in the evening). In general, the men do not go
regularly to a specific kava circle; the houses as well as the members
[621] of the groups change, and this fulfills the essential function of
kava drinking, namely, to unite the male members of the village
community beyond all separation through family life and the religious
affiliation, in any combination and at any time.

276 Not only in these free social gatherings, but also on all
574 special occasions kava drinking is a necessary accompaniment. At
461 every type of community work in the village, for example if a few

/226 cont./

512 stroll down to the beach to hunt for seafood, or they start preparing
a new supply of hair- and body-oil. An important task for them,
[264] however, is the preparation of the afternoon meal of which the entire
family partakes between 17 and 19 o'clock. Around this time the
[515] husband has returned from his plantation (often with fruit he picked)
and has washed himself thoroughly and put on clean clothes. The
children have spent the afternoon helping or playing and are now
mostly also washed, as is the wife. Around 19 o'clock, after the
meal, it has grown dark. Most families gather in their houses for
prayer. Thereafter, the children spend a little time at their
schoolwork and soon lie down to sleep while the husband and wife sit
by the light of kerosene lamps, chat and talk over the next day and
then go to rest around 21 - 22 o'clock. Many men and youths have
[574] /227/ meanwhile gathered in various houses of the village for their
kava circles (589)

589. See p. 144ff.

which seem to a large extent to satisfy all their social aspirations
and which last far into the night, sometimes even until dawn. In
[794] many villages natives of both sexes gather in the evenings to take
[533] part in the practice and rehearsals of the various church choirs.

Circumstances may vary this average daily routine. Thus, the
weather (for example, humidity or dryness) may be the occasion for
[796] various tasks (plantations) or may prevent them. Church services
also induce natives to get up earlier on some days of the week and to
start the day with church attendance, or to end, thus, the day's work
in the afternoon. Moreover, communal projects such as house-building
(not so much boat-building) and the making of tapa lengths and mats
in the kautaha houses (590)

[252] 590. On the days of such communal projects by

/253 cont./

346 352 the floor and a small wooden table for the preacher, to complete furnishings, with a pulpit and benches. In the Catholic churches /254/ and chapels one finds altars and the customary decor.

797 793 794 Only a few white missionaries are still working on the islands. In general, the Tongans carry on the work begun by Europeans, and conduct the services themselves. The individual Wesleyan congregations are headed by native clergymen and, in accordance with the character of the Methodist church, they are assisted by a number of lay preachers. In the Catholic churches of the Archipelago a bishop and several priests officiate, but on the smaller islands native catechists have taken over their work, provided they are authorized to do so according to the organization of the Catholic church. Tongans also head some of the Mormon congregations.

796 The number of church services is relatively large. The Wesleyans generally go to church six times a week: Mondays at 17 o'clock, Wednesdays at 5 (6) o'clock, Fridays at 17 o'clock and Sundays at [533] [794] 5 (6), 9 and 15 o'clock. (In addition there are often rehearsals of the quite large church choirs on two or three evenings a week.) In the Catholic churches the morning masses are read every day, and at 18 o'clock the evening prayer service is held; in addition, on Sundays there is high mass at 8 o'clock and the benediction at 16 o'clock.

796 794 Attendance at the services is very active; most Wesleyan Tongans, for example, scarcely miss one of them; (677) they willingly get up early for them and cease their plantation work in time so that they will not be late for church. (678)

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[578] 677. In the villages, however, there are some who, for various reasons (for example, because they have an antipathy to the priest) stay away from services for years.

678. On the subject of punctuality at church services see p. 33-34.

/253 cont./

796 Along with a doubtlessly often felt inner need, there is also a desire
794 to be seen in public and to enjoy the reputation of being a good
[626] Christian, which plays an important part in this church attendance, and
the number of Tongans who believe that with this frequent attendance
at services (and with their prayers at home) they are doing enough for
their welfare on this earth and for their salvation is probably not
insignificant. This attitude, however, is probably less Tongan than
typically human, and the Tonga Archipelago is doubtless not exceptional
among the rest of the Christian countries of the world. Yet it seems
noteworthy that these rather casual human beings to whom the European
time sense is so foreign should attend church services so regularly.
[152] The majority of them seem to listen devoutly and with wholehearted
feeling to the sermon and try to experience within themselves the
biblical passages discussed, /255/ so that, like the preacher, they
[533] often have tears in their eyes. Their singing of the hymns is loud
and fervent. They are, at any rate, convinced that they are real
[186] Christians, (679) and are proud of the fact that they are good church-goers, and they
speak disdainfully of worldly and disbelieving whites with whom they
have become acquainted during the present decades, especially during
ooo the last World War (troops on Tongatapu). Although the younger

[527]
[461] 679. Strange, though probably understandable with the Old Testament bias of the Methodists, is the attitude of the Wesleyan Tongans to Sundays and to the important church holidays. While on Sunday a strict rest from work is observed, at Easter, Good Friday and the Christmas days they simply attend the services and then work at various activities that seem necessary. On the first Christmas day in 1951 on Nomuka working Tongans were questioned and gave the following explanation: "Sunday is the Lord's day of rest, and Christmas is only the birthday of His Son."

/255 cont./

771 in this Archipelago was reached; the discrepancy occasional observed
177 between belief and action is doubtless a universal attribute of
[797] human nature.

/256/ The change in Tongan religion is thus merely an exchange of the old belief in supernatural powers for a new belief in divine omnipotence. At the same time we must not forget that Christianization strengthened and deepened the religiousness of this people.

5. THEIR ART AND THEIR PLAY

A. Music, Poetry and Dance

764 The visual arts were not very highly developed in ancient Tonga.
349 Noteworthy are only the step pyramids (langi) (682)
643 built up out of coral limestone plates, in which the supreme rulers, the Tu'i Tonga (and their high-ranking relatives) were once interred, as well as the large trilithon "Ha'amonga 'a Maui," a gate-shaped stone structure (probably around 1200 A.D.) at Kolonga/Tongatapu.
532 Aside from that, only the few wooden sculptures of gods are to be mentioned.

341 In present-day Tonga there are no visual arts, since such works
532 of architecture and sculpture have not been created for a long time
178 because of political and religious changes in the Archipelago, and the modern period has apparently given no impetus to such efforts.

533 The musical and poetic arts, on the other hand, were carried on
538 in the pre-European era to a great extent. Ancient Tongan music and explorers and the great seafarers who came after them. Europeaniza-
[177] tion, especially the Wesleyan Christianization of these islands,
[797] however, brought a change and also a suppression of these arts which therefore appear today in an essentially altered form.

533 Song was quite popular in ancient Tonga. The natives sang

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682. See also W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 33 ff.

/256 cont./ The natives sang
533 chiefly to accompany dances (683)

534 683. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp.
461 329-337.

(at which rhythm-stampers, percussion sticks and slit-drums /?/ provided the rhythm) and also to encourage people at certain work (for (hiva), (685)

685. Ibid. p. 333; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 106.

by individuals or small groups (sometimes accompanied by a nose flute). (686)

686. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 334.

533 The beauty and the assets of the islands and the sea were the subject of such songs, but events of the past were also celebrated in song.

533 /257/ Today there are no longer any purely Tongan songs,
177 except for an old taua'alo melody. (687)

[461] 687. taua'alo are the typical ancient Tongan work songs, sung especially in paddling; perhaps the lomepeau song sometimes still sung to the laka-laka dance is also of Tongan origin.

One hears songs of European (English) origin or purely European (English) songs. Most of the secular songs today sung by individual natives or by small groups are written and composed by Tongans on
533 various English models. Most of these songs contain landscape descriptions, though many--in contrast to the past--are pure love songs. Other themes, as for example historical events, are rare. The natives
[574] sing at social gatherings, for example in the kava circles, (688)

[535] 688 See p. 147-149.

to accompany dances and sometimes also by themselves if they happen to feel like it.

[776] But most of all and most heartily the Tongans (689)

[194] 689. Their singing voices (especially those of

/257 cont./

533 the women and girls) still have a nasal
796 sound.

[194] today sing at services in their churches. The Free Wesleyan Church
795 of Tonga prefers purely European (English) melodies which have been
796 borrowed from hymns as well as secular songs. In the Free Church of
533 Tonga, which is more conservative and apparently also does not have
177 the personnel to teach congregations the European song literature, one
still hears predominantly European-influenced ancient Tongan melodies.

533 The choirs of the various Wesleyan churches cultivate singing to
794 an especially great extent. They meet several evenings a week and, by
177 a system of numbered notes written on blackboards, which was introduced
in Tonga, they practice with great patience and notable musical
talent the songs composed by their choir masters or adapted from
European printed notes; these songs they sing with an enthusiasm
intensified by their Christian faith. In this way even works of
European masters (as for example, the Hallelujah chorus of Handel's
"Messiah") have been introduced in Tonga.

533 The influence of sacred songs is today so great that even on
sea journeys between the islands the natives sing chiefly these songs
and rarely secular ones.

Thus Tongan song has changed essentially in comparison with the
past. Yet the joy of singing is probably at least as great today as
(177) it was in ancient Tonga, since the new European /258/ melodies and
particularly the singing furthered by religious motives have brought
great stimulation.

534 In pre-European Tonga there were relatively few, simple musical
instruments. At dances the natives liked to use "rhythm-stampers,"
that is, bamboo tubes of various lengths closed at the lower end, the
proportions of which determined the pitch of the tone. (690)

/258 cont./

534

690. See J. Cook, *Beschreibung*...*loc*. *cit*. VI. pp. 172, 201; J. J. Labillardière, *Relation du voyage*.../Account of the voyage.../II. p. 134; J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. I. p. 137.

Long, split bamboo pieces (691)

691. See Cook, *loc*. *cit*. VI. p. 172; J. J. Labillardière, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 134; J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. I. p. 137.

and hardwood pieces (692)

692. J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 329.

were struck with sticks to give the rhythm of the dance. The cylindrical slit-drums called *nafa* on which, with a rounded beater, gonglike tones of various pitches and tempo were produced, (693)

693. See J. Cook, *loc*. *cit*. VI. PP. 171, 205.

were important especially for the *me'etu'upaki* dance. In addition, the panpipe and the nose flute were known. The former consisted of eight to ten separate reed pipes of the same or different lengths, which were held together in apparently random order by coconut fiber twine; (694)

694. See J. Cook, *loc*. *cit*. VI. p. 287; G. Forster, *loc*. *cit*. IV. p. 343.

this instrument seems to have been of no special importance for the [533] music of the Tongans. More important was the nose flute with five holes (made of bamboo) (695)

695. J. Cook, *loc*. *cit*. VI. p. 267; G. Forster, *loc*. *cit*. IV. pp. 343/344; J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 332.

with the soft, quiet and somewhat melancholy tones of which certain songs were accompanied. (696)

696. J. Martin, *loc*. *cit*. II. p. 334.

[202] The conch shells (with a blowhole struck in) cannot be called musical

/259 cont./

534 with a diameter of about 40-50 centimeters and
a slit-width of about 30 to 40 centimeters.
534 824 They are pieces of trunk of the *fehi* (*Intsia
bijuga*), *telie* (*Terminalia* species), *'ifi*
(*Inocarpus fagiferus* [Park.] Fosb.), *feta'u*
(*Calophyllum inophyllum*) or *kau* trees, and
are hollowed out in such a way that the body
of the drum extends a good handbreadth
beyond the side walls that enclose the hollow.
The drumsticks are carved in various sizes,
usually out of the soft wood of the *tuitui* tree
(*Aleurites moluccana* [L.] Willd.). It is
[177] possible that the *lali* was once upon a time
borrowed from Fiji.

534 178 202 which was originally a signal drum for wartime and still exists in
large numbers on the islands and is sometimes still made, for it is
used where there are no church bells to call together the church-goers
to the services of the various village congregations, and in some places
it is used to announce the start of school. At various dances the
534 177 old drums and other instruments used for rhythm are replaced by
ordinary tin cans beaten with sticks.

For the rest, the natives have adopted various European musical
instruments. Guitars especially are very popular; (700)

[162] 700. On Nomuka (567 inhabitants) were , for
example, about 20 guitars in 1952, while
in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants)
there were about 12.

they are played almost exclusively by young Tongans for group singing
and also to accompany the *tau'olunga* and *hula* dances, for example.
One seldom sees mandolins or violins. In almost every village today
there are also a few mouth organs; the natives like to buy them
shortly before Christmas from the shopkeeper and then organize a
533 small mouth-organ orchestra for the holidays. Chiefly in the large
towns there are brass bands founded by churches. Using European
[177] scores they play on special occasions, for instance at burials and

7.

/259 cont./

533 for large festivals in the villages, but mainly at Christmas time. [177] On the more remote, small island of Nomuka there is even such a brass band whose six members, after diligent practice, have acquired a certain skill in performing on instruments which they bought from a Wesleyan brass band in Nuku'alofa, and some of which were 50 years old. 534 Moreover, /260/ in a few native huts of the main island there are pianos whose owners once acquired them by chance and can scarcely play, and a few Catholic churches and chapels have organs or harmoniums. (701)

[216] [207] 701. Portable gramophones and radios are rather scarce in the Archipelago.

[177] With respect to musical instruments of the Tongans there is thus extensive Europeanization to be noted.

538 554 Poets were once highly honored in Tonga. They were under the protection of the chiefs (702)

702. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 153. E.E.V. Collocott, "Tales and poems of Tonga," /cited in English/ B.P.B.M., Bulletin 46, 1928. p. 64.

who liked them because of the entertainment they provided; they also 538 [533] acted as chroniclers. Their poetry, (703)

703. See J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 336.

which they prepared in solitude, they sang (it was also performed by singing groups) (704)

704. Ibid. p. 337.

or recited before an audience that was often quite critical.

[124] According to the statements of a few Tongan informants, the solo performance (recitation) seems to be given even today, though rarely. [574] If there is a large festival (*katoanga*) in which a member of the royal family, for instance, participates, a native will get up after a dance performance and recite a poem (about remarkable landscapes or

/260 cont./
538 famous places, or allegedly also about the beauty of girls). Likewise,
574 at an informal village kava circle it is said that sometimes a Tongan
[533] will recite an individual verses of his poem in between the group
538 singing of a few songs. On the basis of the sparse and fragmentary
178 historical sources on this subject it is difficult to say definitely
whether the solo performance occurred more often in ancient Tonga
than at present. It is quite possible that this art which once
flourished under the protection of the chiefs became more rare when
their power waned and the once grand "royal court" disappeared.

538 The art of poet-composers who taught their songs to singing
533 groups has, however, been preserved to a great extent. Commoners
[178] and nobles are today active in this field, both for the high nobility
[565] (for example, at festivals of the royal family) and especially for the
common people. As in the past, they create their poems and the
melodies for them in solitude and then rehearse the new song with a
group which is to sing it at a planned festivity. Or else they gather
[574] together only a few young men and sing and play the little composition
to them often enough so that they master it (705)

[177] 705. Today they also practice the new songs by writing the (European) note-numbers on a blackboard and part-singing them.

/261/ and then in turn make it known further by singing it at an
evening kava circle. (706)

[535] 706. If they wish to learn a new dance they will create a text, set it to music and then practice the dance to it.

533 The change in comparison with the past consists in the fact that
177 today song composing has largely become popular and texts (as well as
melodies) show European influence. (707)

707. See p. 387-388.

535 Dances were very popular in ancient Tonga. They apparently

/261 cont./
535 in the royal family or some other extraordinary festival such as the
178 50th anniversary of the Treaty with England) the natives learn such
529 dances in the various villages, (714)

714. Older men and women are the dance teachers (punake).

and they often practice these for months until the individual
movements of all participants are very precisely coordinated, as
535 in the past. Besides such dances intended for the most important
festivals, there are today two forms of a casual, improvised native
dance, the tau'olunga and the hula. These, as well as the rest
/262/ of the most well-known Tongan dances may be briefly described
in the following list which will also give some idea of the changes
that have taken place in comparison with the past.

tau'olunga:

is danced by Tongan men and women of all ages, even by children and very old people. The majority of natives master this simplest of Tongan dances.

Generally, two men and two women demonstrate it. They wear
[291] European clothing, but often only underwear and over it ornamental
[177] belts (for example, mana fau, kie-kie Iou fau) (see pp. 321-324)
[292] and necklaces of plant material (kakala) (see pp. 82-84).
[301]

Especially at kava gatherings, at village festivals and at
[574] weddings, a few young men and girls dance the tau'olunga, the
various steps and movements of which are improvised. They accompany
[533] the dance with special songs (containing descriptions of landscapes,
various flowers, the fragrance of blossoms, the moon, the sun, love
and so on) and also play guitar accompaniments while the audience
mark time with hand-clapping. The tau'olunga is danced at any time
of the day, but usually in the evening.

/263 cont./

535 take part) in such a way that the men form the left half (as seen
554 from the observer) and the women (girls) the right half; the highest
ranking male participant is first in the front men's row (he stands
in the center ["juncture"] of the first men-women row), the highest
ranking female participant dances beside him--as the first in her
row. The best male dancer is the right-hand man of the highest
ranking male (corresponding to the best female dancer to the left of
the highest ranking female). The quality of the dancers decreases
[565] toward the wings, but the persons at the wing ends are usually
skilled nobles.

535 Behind the dance group there often sits a chorus (men and women
533 of random numbers). Songs (715)
[534] are the sole accompaniment of the *laka-laka*. Musical instruments are
not used. With manifold, precisely coordinated movements of arms,
hands and feet (individual steps in various directions), of the
torso, the head, the eyes, the eyebrows and the shoulders, male and
female dancers illustrate the contents of the songs sung (about
the Queen, the Crown Prince, the chiefs, the beauties of the landscape,
the Treaty with England, the World Wars, the automobile and the
airplane, etc.). At special achievements the audience breaks in
with bravo-shouts (*malie*!), and after the dance they applaud
appreciatively.

715. Various texts with various melodies are sung to the *laka-laka*; usually only newly composed *laka-laka* are danced.

535 The *laka-laka* may be danced at all hours of the day.

The *laka-laka* in its entirety is doubtless not an ancient Tongan
[797] dance. It is said to have originated from the marching drills of
Tongan children in the former mission schools (*laka-laka* = to march
[rapidly]). However, there are probably all kinds of ancient Tongan

/263 cont./

535 dance movements in the many-faceted laka-laka.

ma'ulu'ulu:

is danced by natives of both sexes aged 10 to 60 (70) years. The ma'ulu'ulu is the most well-known dance next to the laka-laka; almost half the Tongans have probably learned it.

Approximately 40 to 60 natives take part in the ma'ulu'ulu (the two sexes in about the same proportion). The costume is similar to that of
[177] the laka-laka, but the male and female dancers all wear the same colors;
[292] often they also make do with European fabrics and add ornamental belts
[301] (sisi kakala) and necklaces (kakala).

The ma'ulu'ulu is a sitting dance. The participants group them-
[554] selves similarly as for the laka-laka, with the highest ranking man and
the highest ranking woman in the center of the first row; no more than two rows are formed for this dance.

535 Behind the dancers sits a chorus (of mixed age, sex and rank), to
533 whose singing several nafa barrel drums stretched with skins (see p 390-392) are beaten. After a drum prelude, which is supposed "to rouse the hearts of the dancers," the male and female dancers, with movements of the hands (and arms), of the /264/ head and eyes, begin to portray the content of the song that is being sung (and that contains the same themes as the laka-laka), and to indicate the rhythm with foot movements.

535 The ma'ulu'ulu is danced at any time of day.

[177] This dance was borrowed from Samoa (probably a long time ago).

tafi:

is a dance very similar to the ma'ulu'ulu. It is presented less often than the latter, and no more than perhaps one-third of the natives are experienced in it. The tafi differs from the ma'ulu'ulu
[533] particularly by the fact that there is scarcely any singing to accompany it, and the movements are determined chiefly by the drum

/264 cont./

535 beats of the nafa.

[533] This is probably an ancient Tongan dance.

kailao:

is danced only by men (chiefly young ones, though also older ones). Some two-thirds of the Tongans have probably learned it.

Various numbers of natives (usually between 20 and 100) may take part in a kailao. They dance with naked torsos preferably
[301] decorated with kakala necklaces (see page 82-84) in addition, they wear
[292] ornamental belts (mana fau, kie-kie lou fau [see pp. 321-324]) over
[177]
[291] European underpants and feather hats (made of tapa and red-dyed chicken
[237] feathers).

The dancers generally arrange themselves in rows of 20 men each. Each man holds a dance paddle. The accompaniment consists of rhythmic
[533] beating with sticks on one or two empty cans by a few men. The dancers display considerable movement (including steps).

The kailao may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The kailao--originally probably a war dance--was taken over a long
[534] time ago from Uvea. Tin cans have replaced the wooden drums formerly
[178] customary.

tau faka-niua:

is a dance very similar to the kailao but not more than about one-fourth of the Tongans (including especially the natives of Niua Toputapu) are experienced in it. The tau faka-niua differs from the kailao by the fact that the dancers carry bamboo sticks rather than
[533] paddles. The rhythm here too is indicated by the beating of cans (one to six); /correct/ beat is maintained by the use of pieces of bamboo (notched to form four points).

The tau faka-niua may be danced at any time of day.

The tau faka-niua seems to be an old Tongan war dance from the
[534] island of Niua Toputapu. In former times wooden drums were used
[178] instead of tine cans.

/264 cont./
535 instead of tin cans.

eke:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged 12 to 70 years. The eke is a popular, but rather difficult dance; probably only about one-fourth of the natives have learned it.

The number of participants must be divisible by four, and consists generally of 4 to 20. The costumes of the dancers are the same as for the kailao (see above).

[533] /265/ One or two tin cans are beaten with sticks to accompany the eke. The natives dance in groups of four: two persons each carry (approximately 1.40 meter-long) uhi sticks (Evodia hortensis Forster var. simplicifolia [Rech.] K. Schumann) and two have shorter ones (approximately 0.60 meters). They beat with the short sticks and parry with the long ones.

The eke may be danced at any time of day.

[534)
[178] The eke is perhaps an ancient Tongan war dance. Here too the tin cans probably replaced the wooden drums.

ula:

is danced only by girls and women from the ages of about 12 to 70. The ula is not easy and apparently not very popular. About one-fifth of all female Tongans have probably learned it.

[292]
[177] In general, two to ten dancers take part. They wear vala and dance shirts made of black tapa (ngatu 'uli) trimmed with black-dyed leaves (also without leaf trimming; or "white" tapa trimmed with leaves; or hibiscus bast shirts [kofu lou fau] see pp. 84-85); to an increasing extent they also wear European-type clothing and vala made of European fabrics.

[533] The dancers stand in a row and, while singing to the accompaniment of a chorus (men and women) sitting behind them, they perform movements

/265 cont./

535 533 that are similar to those of the laka-laka (see above), but are slower. These movements apparently do not express the contents of the songs sung (for example, "sweet potatoes are good...", "yams will make us fat...").

535 The ula may be danced at any time of day.

[177] Even in ancient Tongan times the ula was one of the most important dances of these natives; possibly it was once borrowed from Samoa. (716)

716. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 329 ff.

A century and a half ago it was still a typical night dance. (717)

717. Ibid. pp. 330, 332.

Today the ula performance is no longer bound to a specific time, but has probably also been simplified throughout.

me'etu'upaki:

is danced by young and older male and female Tongans (but more by the former). The me'etu'upaki is not particularly popular because it is difficult. Probably about one-tenth of the natives have learned it.

Approximately 60 to 100 male and female dancers take part in it. [292] [177] All dancers are dressed alike; for example, they wear vala made of ngatu tahina, (718)

718. See pp. 328-331.

white European shirts (men) and white blouses (women).

[554] All participants hold short-stemmed dance paddles (approximately 80 centimeters long) in their right hands and stand in two (or more) rows (the sexes separated) (for example, 20 men and women respectively) with the highest-ranking and the chief male (female) dancers in the center of the first row (arrangement as for the laka-laka [see above]).

535 533 The singing of a chorus of men and women behind the rows (for example, about food: "If you do not plant you will be hungry...") and the reverberating sound of the lali(a wooden slit-drum, see pp. 390-392) accompany the dancers' movements which follow the rhythm and

/265 cont./

535 (533) apparently do not express the contents of the song.

/266/ The me'etu'upaki may be danced at any time of the day.

The me'etu'upaki is an ancient Tongan dance; early European visitors to the Archipelago already reported on it, for at that time it was one of the most important performances of the natives. (719)

719. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 205/206; J. J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage.../Account of the voyage.../ II. p. 153; E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecasteaux...I. p. 293.

535 Today this dance is in danger of being forgotten.

178 To judge by the --albeit fragmentary--historical sources, the me'etu'upaki has by no means been handed down to the present time (533) (534) unchanged. For example, in early times no women and girls took part in it, and the short and thick nafa slit-drum beaten for it (720) is today replaced by the lali which is actually a signal slit-drum.

720. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 205.

535

mako:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged approximately 20 to 60. Apparently not many Tongans master the mako. It is performed at kava-, birthday-, and wedding getherings, as well as on other festive occasions. Generally, only two or three individuals perform (177) this dance. They wear European clothing.

(533) To the accompaniment of a song (which in the mako, unlike other dances, always has the same melody) sung by the audience (=chorus), the dancers perform similar, mutually coordinated movements (of the arms and the rest of the body, but keep more or less to the same spot), and utter cries and calls (for example: "murderer") which are supposed to terrify the audience.

The mako may be danced at any time of day.

The mako, which resembles a war dance (and perhaps once was one),

/266 cont./

535 is very old in Tonga. According to an otherwise well-informed Tonga,
[124] this dance was once upon a time taken over from Uvea.
(177)

Today, as in the past, the Tongan dance is closely connected with
[538] poetry and music. (721)
[533]

721. In general, only dances recently written and composed (within the framework of the customary pattern) are practiced and performed.

Among the natives the desire to dance and the talent for dancing are still basically present. The list given above, which is by no means exhaustive, shows that some native dances are still known in Tonga. Once the natives practice a dance they take great pains and, on the basis of many rehearsals, strive to achieve a precision for which these natives were so very much praised in the past. In contrast to
[292] the customary everyday and festive clothing in which European fabrics
[177] predominate, (722)

722. See p. 67 ff.

the natives still use for their dances costumes of bast-cloth and bast (723)

723. Over European underwear.

that are probably similar to the traditional dance dress.

535 On the other hand, one must note that nowadays there are very
178 few ancient Tongan dances in the Archipelago, and that these very ones are seldom shown. They /267/ have also not been handed down unchanged; women and girls take part in such dance which once were apparently reserved for men; the separation into day and night dances has been forgotten, and it is to be presumed that the movements as well as the accompanying songs have also changed to a certain extent.
535 The borrowed dances are far more familiar and popular than the ancient
177 Tongan ones, and are thus more often performed. Yet this is to be traced back less to European influences than to the Tongan tendency

[No p. 404 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/271 cont./

526 surf--as did the men in ancient Tonga; several of them (up to about 20)
857 let rather big waves carry them to the beach on box lids or other pieces
of wood (approximately 70-100 centimeters long) which they use as
524 "surfboards." It is possible that the "pop-cork" game which the boys nowadays
857 seldom play is of ancient Tongan origin.

[178) It consists of a small bamboo tube, two balls of twisted tapa and a
wooden rod; they stick one ball in the lower end of the tube, shove it
up to the mouth with the rod, then insert the second ball and push it
up with the little stick while holding the tube vertically. With a loud
bang the first ball shoots high into the air.

524 Girls at the age of six to twenty still like to play the ancient
857 Tongan game of "*hiko*."

883 They throw two to six balls (=*vaine* fruits [*Passiflora* species])
[178) (the number of balls depending on their skill) into the air, one after
the other, catch them successively and keep on throwing the caught balls
up again, so that all buy one are in the air. Sometimes they sing
● [533) children's songs to this. If there are two players the second girl has
a turn if the first makes a mistake or if she has been successful
throughout the singing of the entire verse. Nowadays the *hiko* game is also
[871) taught in school, the teacher appointing a girl /to teach it/ from the
village who is particularly skilled in it.

524 *"Moa"* is apparently not a very old game of skill played by girls
857 approximately seven to twelve years of age.

"Moa" is played with five *Aleurites* nuts. Two to three girls sit together. One of them starts to play by laying the five nuts on the ground, picking one up, throwing it in the air (about 1.50 meters) and, while /272/ it is still in the air, picking up a second nut with the same hand and then catching the first one. This tossing-picking up-catching is repeated until finally all five nuts are in the girl's hand.

100: Koch--468 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

Fijians OQ4

T F 795 171 /310 cont./ Likewise in the ecclesiastical sphere conditions in both island groups are similar insofar as /311/ there are likewise various denominations in the Fiji Archipelago; (36)

36. Wesleyan Church, Roman Catholic Church, Adventists, Anglican Church, Presbyterians.

yet these natives have not come around to founding churches independently.

T F 533 538 535 177 In the field of art it can be noted that both song and instrumental music as well as poetry and the dance have undergone changes (adoption of European heritage, fusion of old and new, loss of ancient cultural heritage) similar to those undergone by the corresponding arts of the Tongans. Games too seem changed, as in Tonga.

T F 524 In /the realm of general/ knowledge and hence in the Fijian conception of the world, European influences (especially schools and F 872 177 churches) likewise have their effects. Almost every native child today has an elementary school education--as in the Tonga Archipelago--and in general the children here too learn quite willingly. The system of transmitting European knowledge through schools is, however, limited since the effectiveness of some elementary schools still leaves much to be desired, and relatively few pupils have the opportunity for higher education. T 871 The Tongan educational system seems somewhat more progressive in this respect, and actually offers too much schooling for conditions there. T F 871 182 While in that Archipelago the young people who have successfully attended college and can find no entrance to the higher professions devote themselves as a matter of course to the farm work of their fathers, T [873] [463] F [571] it is reported in this colony that those whose school education is completed largely scorn village life and, we are told, there is a "constant increase of a discontented class of half-educated youth" /cited in English/. (37)

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

123
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ever, we reached the entrance to the Royal enclosure, she hesitated, and would not go in, but continued standing at one of the side-gates, where she could not be seen from the house. After [533] several ineffectual attempts to persuade her to show me how the instrument was played, I gave it up in despair, and returned to the rest of the party, who were seated with the king and queen listening to the band. A short time after I had sat down I thought I saw the matting behind the queen moving as if it were being pushed gently forwards, and my curiosity being awakened, I continued to watch it attentively; it stopped, but in a few minutes there was another movement, and a head was popped in sideways, but instantly withdrawn as I recognised the laughing face of the young lady of the fung fung. I think the queen observed me, for much to my alarm she turned round, and caught sight of the head, which came through again at the same instant, and I was not a little relieved when, instead of showing any displeasure, she spoke in the most good-humoured manner, apparently inviting her to come in, for immediately after, the body followed the head, and the girl seated herself behind the queen. Noon was our time for getting under way, and my chance of hearing the fung fung was becoming less probable every moment. Finding there was no other hope left for it, I requested one of the missionaries to use his influence to see if it could be done. The queen laughed [609] when she heard that I was so anxious about the matter, and even the grave features of his Majesty relaxed into a smile as he seconded my wishes by a Royal command. The girl, rising from her place beside the Queen, came and sat down close in front of me with the fung fung in her hand, while with all the gravity I could muster, I took out my tablets and pencil ready to commence my sketch with the first note, but the moment she put the fung fung up to her nose and began to blow, there was no standing it; my attempts at gravity, by appearing to be very intent upon the sketch, only made the case more desperate, and the girl happening to look at me, it was impossible to contain ourselves any longer, and there was a general burst of laughter—in which no one joined more heartily than the king and queen. The young lady skipped away, nearly overturning one of the missionaries in her hurry to get behind the queen again. She could not be induced to make another attempt in public, but said she would play it in the next apartment where she might be heard without being seen, but here the first few puffs were always followed by her half-suppressed bursts of laughing, in which everybody outside joined, so that after all I got no regular performance on the fung fung. It was now nearly 12 o'clock, and, taking our farewell of their Majesties, we went down to the beach, I, for one, sincerely hoping that the "northing" in the breeze might keep us for a day or two longer.

524 171 533 A large number of Fijian string games were originally worked out to the accompaniment of a chant. Many of these chants are almost certainly of great antiquity for the meaning of several of them is not now understood fully by those who repeat the words.

524 171 Whatever the custom in former times, string games in Fiji are played nowadays solely for pastime; even this custom is dying out before the spread of hymn singing, the attendance at football matches, and the general and rapid deterioration of the native culture.

Fijian string games are termed collectively *vei thiu* in those localities where the aristocratic Mbauan dialect is spoken; in Vanua Levu they are usually called *vei sanga.*

ETHNOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

524 171 128 To exhibit the geographical distribution of the figures described from Fiji and Tonga, Table 1 and Table 2 have been prepared.

In making these tables I have utilized, with one exception, only those figures the constructive movements of which are sufficiently similar to permit no doubt of common origin. Figures like those described by Roth (16), in which the final design alone is known, and those in which the movements leading up to similar concluding designs are fundamentally different, have been rigorously excluded. The single exception is the geographic figures representing two islands vis-à-vis, namely, the Fijian figure "Koro and Wakaia," and the Society Islands figure "Tahiti and Moorea." These I include as equivalent and common in origin because of the similarity in the underlying idea.

524 171 Table 1 amply demonstrates the predominance of Melanesian influence in Fiji. Of the 30 solitary or independent figures and series of figures which I have recorded from Fiji, the large total of 12 has been recorded also from New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, Torres Strait, D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago, and the Fly River district of New Guinea.

Relationship with Tonga comes next in importance, 7 figures being common to Fiji and Tonga. Three of these are not found in New Caledonia and New Guinea areas, suggesting that they are not of Melanesian origin. Nine are common to Fiji and to the Society-Marquesas islands taken as one ethnic and geographic unit, 6 of which are found also in Tonga. It therefore may be concluded that at least most of these figures, as well as those with range restricted to the Society Islands, the Marquesas, Tonga, and Samoa, belong to Polynesian culture.

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 Oι) Tonga OU9

524 171 It is also noteworthy that the *imbi* is the most widely spread of any string game, either single or serial, in Oceania. In Samoa and in the Gilbert, Tokelau, and Ellice islands, where it has not been recorded, I feel sure that it will eventually be found.

The relationships of the Tongan figures are wholly Polynesian if Fiji be excluded. Only one form is common to Tonga and the New Caledonia area, whereas 2 of the total 10 are found in New Zealand and 3 in the Society and Marquesas islands. Of these 3, one appears also in Samoa and in the Ellice and Tokelau islands.

The Samoan figures are not sufficiently numerous to permit useful or valid conclusions to be drawn, except that 2 of them betoken close relationship with the islands to the westward.

121 As pointed out by Handy (10a) a study of string figures has thrown a strong light on the relationships of primitive peoples, but much more information from many island groups is necessary before the full value of the geographical study of string games can be utilized adequately in the solution of the ethnological problems of Melanesia and Polynesia. The present collection has perhaps its chief value in breaking new ground in certain island groups. What has been done in Samoa and in Tonga is not a tithe of what may be accomplished there if an investigator with tact and a knowledge of the language devotes adequate time to the study. Fiji is so prolific a field that I am satisfied that numerous games remain unrecorded. Immediate attention to this subject is, however, necessary, for the people are rapidly forgetting the games and in a few years many will have become irretrievably lost. I would direct special attention to the collection of the chants associated with many of the games. Wherever possible these have been recorded in this collection. [524 [178 [533 [171 [126

TERMINOLOGY

128 In the description of the movements required to evolve the various figures, I have adopted the technical terms devised by Rivers and Haddon (15), and used also by Handy (10), who describes the terminology in the following convenient form:

> The back of the hand and fingers is referred to as the dorsal side; the palm, as the palmar side; so that a string or a loop is said to lie on the dorsal or the palmar side of the hand or a finger, is picked up on the dorsal or the palmar side of a digit. The little finger side of the hand is called the ulnar side; the thumb side, the radial side; so that strings are said to be ulnar or radial according as they lie on the side of a finger towards the little finger or towards the thumb. Similarly, the direction of the rotation of a hand or a finger is designated as in the ulnar or in the radial direction, according as it describes an arc or a circle starting towards the little finger side of the hand or towards the thumb side.